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ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit analyzes the common cultural images people have about the western United States and how incomplete those images are. The lessons are divided into five sections. The first section, "Investigating Images and Assumptions," presents four lessons to engage students in beginning the examination of their images and assumptions about the West. The second section, "Coming Into The Country," presents five lessons that look at the convergence of cultures in the West. The four lessons in the third section, "Examining and Demythologizing the Mythic West," involve students in examining fiction and film as a means of demythologizing the mythic West. "Variables of Culture," section four, explores the conflicts and cooperation that result from culture contact. The final section, "The West as Region: Place, Landscape, and Environment," presents six lessons that examine the West as region, looking at how western history and culture are shaped by the landscape. Each lesson is presented in a standard format, opening with a brief introduction followed by objectives and an estimate of how much class time the lesson will require and information about the materials and preparation needed to use the lesson. Step-by-step procedures for using the lesson are then provided. Some lessons include teacher background information or ideas for activities that will extend and enrich the learning. Masters for student handouts are provided. (EH)

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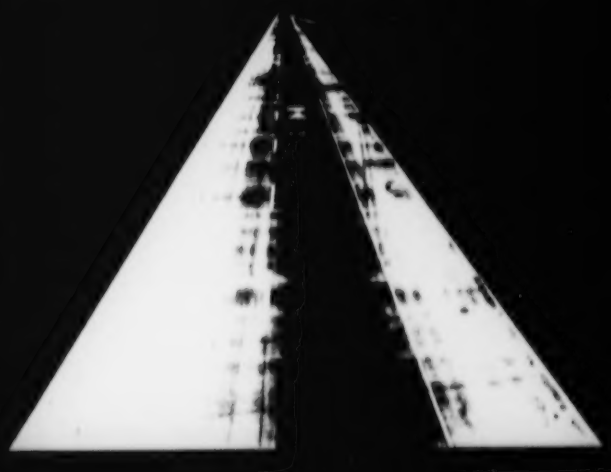
A New Look at the American West

Lessons for Secondary History and Literature Classes



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Edited by Gloria Eastman and Barbara Miller

Social Science Education Consortium

Boulder, Colorado

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LESSONS FOR SECONDARY HISTORY AND LITERATURE CLASSES

Edited by

Gloria Eastman and Barbara Miller

Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado
1996

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Cover photograph by Frank Jensen.

INTRODUCTION

Most Americans, including most students, bring deeply held cultural images to their understanding of the American West. These images, repeated through film and story, posit the story of a uniform westward movement of European-Americans and the frontier as an ideal of opportunity and individualism.

Yet, as historian Patricia Limerick reminds us, "human beings discovered the American landscape from all directions." Limerick identifies ten elements necessary to create "ideal" studies of American history:

1. The geologic, climatic, botanical, and zoological qualities of a particular place.

2. The indigenous people's world views and the values they invested (and may well continue to invest) in the landscape of their home.

3. The impact of the native people's action in creating a landscape that was neither purely natural nor wholly human-made.

4. The perceptions and actions of intruders, explorers, invaders, colonizers, and conquerors, responding to places that were at once new to them and familiar to the original residents.

5. The second-generation experience of those born to the colonizers—the perspective of the invaders' children, to whom the new and exotic area had become home.

6. The continuing arrival of both new residents and impression-gathering travelers, who may well have felt a sense of discovery, whether or not that sense of originality seemed legitimate to the residents who preceded them.

7. The ways in which these various groups saw each other—as legitimate residents, illegitimate invaders, enrichers, despoilers, improvers, or devastators of the landscape, or as quaint figures or eyesores in the view.

8. Change and continuity in the physical components and arrangements of the landscape over time.

9. The ongoing process of discovery and rediscovery, as people with different concerns, needs, and assumptions found and find new meaning in landscapes, even when those landscapes, by an earlier judgment composed of equal parts of cheer and gloom, seemed to have been fully discovered, known, mastered, and thereby reduced in interest.

10. An evaluation, in the historian's best judgment and with subjectivity fully acknowledged of what this all adds up to—a kind of balance sheet of gains and losses: gains that can be sustained and gains that prove temporary; injuries and losses where repair and recovery are imaginable; and injuries where repair and recovery are beyond imagination.[1]

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1. Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Disorientation and Reorientation: The American Landscape Discovered from the West." *The Journal of American History* (December 1992), pp. 1021-1049.

With Limerick, we recognize that designing a curriculum that incorporates these elements will be a monumental task. While we do not claim that the lessons included in this volume represent such a curriculum, we believe these lessons will help teachers challenge our common cultural images as, at best, an incomplete view of the West. These lessons emphasize multiple perspectives; a humanities approach that unites history, literature, art, and music; and a belief that the study of the West should not be limited to the 19th-century, but continue to consider 20th-century issues and literature.

The lessons are divided into five sections. The first section presents four lessons that can be used to engage students in beginning the process of examining their images and assumptions about the West. The second section presents five lessons that look at the convergence of cultures in the West. The four lessons in the fourth section involve students in examining fiction and film as a means of demythologizing the mythic West. Variables of culture and the conflict and cooperation that result are the subjects of the eight lessons in the book's fourth section. The final section presents six lessons that examine the West as region, looking at how western history and culture are shaped by the landscape.

Each lesson is presented in a standard format, opening with a brief introduction followed by objectives. The teacher is then given an estimate of how much class time the lesson will require and information about the materials and preparation needed to use the lesson. Step-by-step procedures for using the lesson are then provided. Some lessons include teacher background information or ideas for activities that will extend and enrich the learning. Masters for student handouts are provided; teachers will find a rich array of source material and analysis tools in these handouts.

In the appendix, we provide a list of selected literary works that can be useful in "Telling the Rest of the Story of the American West." Several of the works listed are used in lessons in this volume, while others await your own lesson-planning expertise. Although the list is by no means exhaustive, we believe it, like the lessons in this volume, provides a useful starting point for helping your students rediscover the American West.

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This book would certainly not exist if not for the efforts of Lori Eastman and Barbara Miller. Lori, a teacher at Arvada High School in Arvada, Colorado, and Barbara, a senior staff associate at SSEC, served as master teachers in all three institutes. In that capacity, they assisted teacher participants in making the connection between the new scholarship on the West and the curriculum they present to young people. Lori and Barb wrote many of the lessons in this volume and shaped many others. Their contributions are invaluable, and we thank them.

We would also like to thank the many authors and publishers who allowed us to reprint their materials in this volume. The inclusion of an array of materials from many sources enriches this collection immeasurably.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to Cindy A.E. Cook and Laurel R. Singleton, the SSEC's publications staff, for their efforts in turning a stack of lessons into a book.

James R. Giese
Gary Holthaus

Co-Directors, The American West Institute

I.

INVESTIGATING IMAGES AND ASSUMPTIONS

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1. READING VISUAL IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN WEST

Introduction:

This lesson provides one avenue for beginning a study of our assumptions about the West. Because it uses visual images as its data source, the lesson should be engaging and accessible for diverse learners.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Describe stereotypical images of the West.

2. Question the ways in which images tell only a part of the story or stories of the West.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 1-1 for all students. You will also need to gather a variety of slides or prints of Western art, photographs, and/or images from advertising. Make an effort to include typical or stereotypical images of the West, as well as those that break these stereotypes. Museums, such as the Denver Art Museum, are one possible source of slides.

Examples of stereotypical images from which you could choose several are:

- Slides or prints of artwork by Frederic Remington, Charles Russell, or George Catlin.
- Posters for or stills from western movies starring John Wayne or Clint Eastwood.
- Advertisements, such as those featuring the "Marlboro Man" or Ralph Laurens cologne, Chaps.
- Pictures of mountain men/trappers.
- Poster for a wild west showing featuring Annie Oakley.
- Photos of vast open landscapes or a cattle drive.
- Historical photographs of 19th-century Native Americans, such as Chief Joseph, Kicking Bear, Geronimo, and Sitting Bull.
- Wanted posters for notorious 19th-century outlaws.
- Photographs of women settlers or dance hall women.

Images that break these stereotypes could be selected from such materials as:

- Photographs of urban landscapes of the West (e.g., Denver, Phoenix, Los Angeles, Seattle).
- Photographs of black and Hispanic cowboys and Chinese miners or railroad workers.

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Patricia Hardy, El Roble Intermediate School, Claremont, California.

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- Photographs of lumbering camps.
- Pictures of contemporary Native Americans in urban or reservation settings.
- Photographs of 20th-century women ranchers.
- Posters for or stills from a movie set in a contemporary western city, such as *Boys in the Hood*, *American Me*, or *Clueless*.
- *Construction of the Dam* (Columbia Dam), by William Gropper.
- Slides of artworks by such contemporary artists as painter Larry Yáñez, photographer Douglas Hill, or sculptor Luis Alfonzo Jiménez, Jr.
- Slides of murals created by contemporary Hispanic artists.

Depending on the images available to you, you may want to show them all as slides or display them around the classroom. The logistics of teaching the lesson may be easier if the images are displayed around the classroom, since this will allow students to work at their own pace to analyze the images.

Procedure:

1. Begin the lesson by asking students to define the word *stereotype*. Are stereotypes good or bad? accurate or inaccurate? How do stereotypes affect our thinking? If students have difficulty getting started, use familiar examples (e.g., the wicked stepmother of fairy tales, the glasses-wearing character in a cartoon or situation comedy, the successful executive driving an expensive car in commercials) to prompt their thinking.

2. Ask students to brainstorm stereotypes about the American West. You may conduct the brainstorm as a class or have students work in pairs and then pool their responses. You may want to suggest that students focus on landscapes, people, activities, and attitudes/values in the brainstorming process.

3. Discuss the list of stereotypes students generated, using such questions as the following:

- Do we have a common set of stereotypes about the West?
- What is the source of our stereotypes? Where did we learn these images?
- What time period do our stereotypes seem to reflect? Do we apply these stereotypes to the contemporary American West?

If your students do not, in fact, know the common stereotypes of the West, compliment them on their open-mindedness and point out that many people do have stereotypes about the West, based on their image of the region in the 19th century; these images will be examined in this lesson.

4. Draw students' attention to the images you have gathered, either by showing all the slides quickly or by allowing a few minutes for students to look at the images you have posted around the classroom. What stereotypes are reflected in these images? Which are from the time period identified as being the source of many stereotypes? Which images do not reflect the stereotype?

If your students did not know the common stereotypes of the West, you can skip to the next step in the procedure.

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5. Distribute Handout 1-1 and tell students to use it to analyze the images that you have gathered. They may work individually or in pairs to do the analysis. Focus students on the more stereotypical images for this portion of the lesson. Depending on the number of images you have gathered, you may want to limit the number of images that each student or pair analyzes or assign a minimum number.

6. As a class, discuss the students' findings. Do these visuals reflect the "typical" image of the West developed in the brainstorm? (If the students were unaware of the stereotypes, ask instead: What "typical" image of the West do these visuals suggest?) Then lead students to describe the stories that are omitted by the stereotype. What kinds of people are not seen in the images? What kinds of activities tend not to be seen? What settings are neglected? To what extent are these "missing" people, activities, and places reflected in the other images provided?

Extension/Enrichment:

Ask each student to bring a newspaper clipping, advertisement, movie poster, or photograph to class to use in creating a bulletin board that breaks the stereotypes of the American West. Students can continue to add items to the collection as they study the region.

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Reading Visual Images of the American West

Brief description (include artist and date, if known)	What story or theme does this image support or illustrate?	What perspective is taken? Whose history is being told? What (or who) has been left out?	Who is this image important to? What's attractive about it? Would anyone object to it?

2. TWO VIEWS OF THE WEST: A CENTURY APART

Introduction:

This lesson is based on the premise that one cannot fully appreciate the scholarly history of the American West or understand popular images of the region without a basic understanding of Frederick Jackson Turner and the essay he delivered as a lecture at the American Historical Association meeting held in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. The lesson is also intended to introduce students to western historiography by comparing the work of two historians, Frederick Jackson Turner and Patricia Nelson Limerick. Both taught history of the American West at Harvard, and both developed theories that reflected societal changes of the times in which they were writing—a century apart.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Summarize the key ideas in Turner's essay on the significance of the frontier and explain how it has served as the basis for a national creation myth.

2. Compare the thinking of two historians regarding the importance of the westward settlement of the American West.

3. Search textbooks and/or popular culture to look for evidence of each historian's approach.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 2-1, 2-2, and 2-3 for all students; you may wish to have students read Turner's full essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," instead of Handout 2-1. You will also need to gather illustrations representing 19th-century images of the West or select film clips of a western movie (*Shane* is an appropriate choice).

Procedure:

1. Ask students to brainstorm the most powerful images of the American West. List their responses on the board.

2. Ask questions to help students consider the sources of these images:

   - Which images come from textbooks?
   - Which come from the movies?
   - How many of the images reflect a 19th-century perspective? How many are 20th-century views?

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Maria Baca, Horizon High School, Adams County Five Star District 12, Colorado.

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3. Explain that many of the popular images of the American West reflect the thinking of a 19th-century historian, Frederick Jackson Turner. Assign students to read Handout 2-1 and respond to the questions that follow.

4. Next, tell students that historians today are challenging Turner's interpretation. One such "New Western" historian is Patricia Nelson Limerick. Distribute Handout 2-2 and have students respond to the questions that follow.

5. Explain that students are now going to directly compare the ideas of Turner and Limerick. Provide students with Handout 2-3. Provide students with some background on Turner and Limerick. While both were educated at Ivy League schools and taught at Harvard, the two historians viewed the West from different perspectives. Turner was a New Englander, a friend of Teddy Roosevelt who brought an Eastern lens to viewing the West. In contrast, Patty Limerick grew up in California in the 1950-60s. Her formative years were the eras of the Vietnam war and the civil rights movement, and she has the perspective of 200 years of nationhood. Assign students to work in pairs to answer the question: Which historian has the more accurate view of the American West? Completing the retrieval chart on the second page of the handout may help students think through this question. In reporting their conclusions, students should explain their reasoning. What experiences and values might explain the differences in the two historians' views? What political and cultural events shaped Limerick's view of the West? In what context did each historian do his/her research?

6. Ask students: Which view of western history is represented in the list brainstormed by the class in step 1 of the lesson? (Probably much of their list will reflect a romanticized 19th-century view of the American West that is closer to Turner's writing than to current views.) Ask some of the following questions:

- Why has Frederick Jackson Turner's view of the West been so lasting?
- Why have the images of cowboys and open space become so important to our society?
- Why should students develop an understanding of more recent historical research?

7. As an evaluation activity, show clips of a western film, such as *Shane*, or display textbook or other pictures illustrating 19th-century views of the West. Ask students to find examples of material culture that represent each historian's interpretation of the American West.

Extension/Enrichment:

Assign students to read creation myths from selected cultures and compare them with the frontier story. Ideas for such comparisons are provided in Lesson 11.

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Frederick Jackson Turner: The Frontier as a National Creation Myth

Most nations and cultural groups have a creation story to explain how they are a significant part of the world. While some are purely mythical, others have a basis in history. Frederick Jackson Turner was an imaginative interpreter of the American West. An essay that he wrote in 1893 brought attention to local history and to things western. Few historians have had such a lasting influence on our national identity. His work has provided the basis for scholarly debate about the role of the frontier in American history, and selected images are reflected in western movies and other forms of popular culture.

Frederick Jackson Turner presented his paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" to members of the American Historical Association, who were in Chicago for their annual meeting. The meeting took place during the Columbian Exposition, a celebration of the 400th anniversary of Columbus's landing in the New World. According to historian Ann Fabian, "It was no coincidence that Buffalo Bill Cody was in Chicago at the same time with his Wild West show."

* * * * *

Turner began his essay by quoting from the 1890 census, "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present...there can hardly be said to be a frontier line." He suggested that a great historic movement was coming to an end.

In his essay, Turner described the peaceful settlement of an empty continent. The availability of free land allowed people to leave Europe and the eastern United States to create a new culture in the West.

Turner asked his audience to "stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file—the buffalo..., the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer—and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between." Thus, he described a series of frontiers moving from the Appalachian Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

He evoked images of Americans on the frontier living in log cabins, traveling in birch canoes and wagon trains, and slowly transforming the wilderness. He described Daniel Boone as an ideal frontiersman who exemplified the qualities required in the wilderness.

In Turner's view, the American frontier shaped American individualism and democracy. The frontier, in his language, was "the meeting point between civilization and savagery"—a place that caused people to become practical and inventive. He described a "mixed race" of white Europeans remaking themselves into Americans. "Each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity...a freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas...." Turner concluded his essay by stating that an important period of American history was ending.

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Questions for Discussion:

1. What do you think Turner meant by "free land" and "empty continent"?

2. To whom would Turner's story appeal? Who is the hero?

3. What part of the story of settlement is left out? Who is missing from Turner's story?

4. What was going on in the United States at the time the essay was written that made Turner's ideas so appealing? How have his ideas been preserved in the movies? In popular culture?

5. Many things have changed since Turner wrote this essay. Do his ideas speak to you or contradict your understanding of the importance of the American West?

6. Turner's essay reflects the values and experiences of a 19th-century New England male. What values and experiences might influence a female historian who grew up in California in the 1960s? What values and experiences influence your view of history?

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Patricia Nelson Limerick: The Unbroken Past of the American West

Patricia Nelson Limerick, while praising Frederick Jackson Turner as a "scholar with intellectual courage, an innovative spirit, and a forceful writing style," also thought Turner was, "to put it mildly, ethnocentric and nationalistic." She also thought his interpretation of western history created an artificial division between past and present. In addition, when new historical findings did not fit the Turner model, historians simply abandoned the model. No new organizing idea developed.

Limerick set out to address the lack of a new organizing model for western history when she wrote her book The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West. Drawing on her considerable talent for storytelling, she presents a history of the American West that is markedly different from the mythic story found in our popular culture. Published in 1986, Limerick's book still prompts debate among historians of the West.

* * * * *

In the introduction to her book, Limerick argued that Turner's view of the history of the West as a process of east-to-west settlement separated the West's past from its present, as well as separating western history from the history of the United States. Yet there is continuity in western history; the constant struggle with nature, particularly to obtain sufficient water, is one example of a constant theme. The West's history is also, according to Limerick, connected in numerous ways to the history of the nation.

"In rethinking Western history," Limerick wrote, "we gain the freedom to think of the West as a place—as many complicated environments occupied by natives who consider their homelands to be the center, not the edge...The American West was an important meeting ground, the point where Indian America, Latin America, Anglo-America, and Asia intersected." Conquest provided the tie between these groups, a tie that continues into the present.

According to Limerick, "Conquest basically involved the drawing of lines on a map, the definition and allocation of ownership... and the evolution of land from matter to property." Competing groups struggled for property and profit, with the government taking an expanded role in the economy. Such an expanded role has remained an issue of controversy, both in the West and nationally.

As groups in the West have struggled for property and profit, they have also struggled for cultural dominance: which ways of life and points of view would be given legitimacy. This struggle, too, continues into the present.

Limerick finds the legacy of conquest—its impact on both the conqueror and the conquered—to be a significant concern not reflected in most writing about the American West. While the legacy of slavery is taken seriously in historical writing about the South, the legacy of conquest has "dissolved into stereotypes of noble savages and noble pioneers struggling quaintly in the wilderness." Yet conquest underlies much of U.S. history, and the history of the West can provide a "preeminent case study in conquest and its consequences."

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Questions for Discussion:

1. Why do you think Limerick called her book *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*? What evidence can you think of to support Limerick's view that the legacy of conquest still links cultural groups in the West?

2. To whom would Limerick's story appeal? Does Limerick's story have heroes? If so, who are they?

3. Is Limerick's view reflected in movies, books, or other examples of popular culture? Whose story is missing from these portrayals?

4. Other historians who share Limerick's view of western history have called the West a "crossroads of cultures." What do you think they mean? Which do you think is a better descriptor of the West—a crossroads of cultures or a frontier? Explain your choice.

5. Limerick was born in 1951. What events that occurred in her lifetime may have shaped the way she views the history of the American West?

6. What, according to Limerick, is the importance of the American West? Do you agree with her arguments?

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Two Views of the West: A Century Apart

	1893 **Frederick Jackson Turner** "The Significance of the Frontier in American History"	**1986** **Patricia Nelson Limerick** *The Legacy of Conquest: Unbroken Past of the American West*
Why is the West important?	The frontier was the meeting point between civilization and savagery...the line of most effective and rapid Americanization. The frontier provides...democracy.	Turner's thesis has blinded us to important understandings of the West. The American West is a case study in conquest and its consequences.
What cultures explain the western experience?	Through the struggle with the wilderness, Europeans became Americans. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into...the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the...expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them.	Turner was, to put it mildly, ethnocentric and nationalistic. English-speaking white men were the stars of the story; Indians, Hispanics, French Canadians, and Asians were at best supporting actors and at worst, invisible. Nearly as invisible were women, of all ethnicities. Mexican people were not, after all, "aliens" in the West. Hispanics had been there first and, according to population projections, were going to be there in greater numbers in the future.
How should we define "frontier?"	What is the American frontier?...It lies at the hinder edge of the land.	The processes of western development run continuously from past to present.
How important is 19th Century in understanding the American West?	The frontier closed in 1890. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American History. Never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves.	There is no definition of the closing of the frontier that is anything but arbitrary and riddled with exceptions and qualifications. The reality of conquest dissolved into stereotypes of nobel savages and nobel pioneers struggling quaintly in the wilderness...In western painting, novels, movies and television shows, those stereotypes were valued precisely because they offered an escape from modern troubles.

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Comparing Views of the West

	Turner	Limerick
Title and Date of Work		
Educational Background		
Thesis of Work		
Definition of Frontier		
Importance of Frontier		
Cultures Discussed and Role They Played		

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3. A SENSE OF PLACE: MENTAL MAPS OF YOUR COMMUNITY

Introduction:

Mental mapping is based on the premise that a map drawn from memory constitutes a vision of reality even if it is not accurate. Freehand maps drawn by students offer a graphically rich database for beginning a study of their communities and the American West.

This activity involves students in thinking about the distinctive natural and human-made features of the community in which they live through a mapping exercise. By comparing their individual and collective mental maps, they will come to understand what it is about their community that provides a sense of place. The lesson is designed for use by students and teachers who live in the western United States.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Explain what makes certain landmarks important at the personal and community levels.

2. Analyze selected landmarks to determine how they provide a sense of place.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of Handout 3-1 for all students, as well as markers, newsprint, and crayons. You may wish to invite someone from the local historical society or neighborhood association to hear the student reports and ask questions.

Procedure:

1. Provide students with copies of Handout 3-1. Discuss the value and process of mental mapping (geographers are interested in the maps people carry around in their heads because they provide important information about people's perception and experience in their community). Be sure students understand the vocabulary used on the handout. Have students work in groups of three to construct maps following the instructions on the handout. Emphasize that they can only report on *three* places. This forces them to discuss what's really important. If students come from different neighborhoods, you may wish to group them accordingly.

2. As each group presents its map, ask questions to probe the reasons they selected the landmarks that they did. Post maps following the presentation.

3. Once the individual presentations have been made, ask students to identify the common strands in the maps.

- Do the maps contain more natural or humanmade features?
- What issues are represented on more than a few maps?
- What landmarks are the most positive features of the community? What makes them so?

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- Do the maps tell about the ideals or the realities of our community, state, and the American West?
- What cultural traditions are reflected in the maps?

4. Write the following question on the chalkboard and ask students to respond to it in their journals or notebooks. The writing could be done in class or as homework.

> Pick two places in our community. Why are they important to you personally?
> to our community?

5. Save the maps. At the end of your unit on the West, ask students to revise their maps to show how they view the community differently as a result of their studies.

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Mapping Your Community

Suppose that an exchange student and his/her American Studies teacher wanted to visit your community to learn what it's like to live in the American West.

As a team, create a mental map that will inform them about the community in which you live. Your map should feature three places that will be most useful in helping others *understand* the American West as it is reflected through your community. You will have about 20 minutes to design and produce the map and 3 minutes to present it to the class.

Use lines, symbols, color, words, and pictures to tell us about your community...

- Who lives in your community.
- How people live in your community.
- Your community's traditions.
- Stories about your community that make a point about values and beliefs.
- Landscape and resources of your community.
- Trends/issues shaping the future of your community.

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4. EXAMINING TEXTBOOK COVERAGE: ENCOURAGING A WIDER VIEW OF AMERICAN LITERATURE AND HISTORY

Introduction:

Most American literature texts include very little western literature. Most American history texts present the American West as a place of interest only in the 19th century, ignoring activity before or after. In this lesson, students are asked to consider the reasons for this exclusion and to challenge the textbook editors' "canon" of American literature. This lesson works as an introduction to a unit that will depend on sources outside the standard textbook.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Define *canon* and understand that it is a shifting concept.

2. Question the textbook and move beyond it for additional readings.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials and Preparation: If you are using this lesson to introduce a literature unit, you will need copies of Handout 4-1a for all students; if you are using the lesson in a history class, you will need copies of Handout 4-1b. If your class is American studies, you may want to have half the students work with Handout 4-1a and half with 4-1b. Students will also need access to their texts.

Procedure:

For Literature Classes:

1. Introduce the worksheet and have students work in groups to fill it out. Then discuss the content. Be sure students understand the concept of *canon*. Make a list on the board of groups we need to hear from in order to get a more complete story of the West. Refer to this list as you introduce new pieces of literature.

2. Writing about the Ortega y Gasset quote could be assigned as homework. Consider saving these paragraphs until the class has read some western writers and then returning them for revision based on what students have indeed found by reading outside the textbook.

For History Classes:

1. Have students complete the worksheet as homework. In class, have students work in small groups to compare the results of their research.

2. Responding to question 4 can be an ongoing assignment and provide a springboard for individual research, guest speakers, and continued development throughout the class's study of the American West.

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American Literature Worksheet: Introduction to "A Wider View"

1. Look at our textbook's table of contents. Which groups of people are represented by the authors we have read? Which races, social classes, sex, regions of the United States are represented?

2. Describe the stereotypical American author of the mid-1800s.

3. Which points of view or "voices" of the American people have we not heard from? Look at the map of the United States in 1850. Have all regions been represented in our readings?

4. One of the meanings of the word *canon* is "authoritative list, as of the works of an author, a standard, a criterion" (*The American Heritage Dictionary*). What is the canon of American literature? Who decided which authors to include in our text? (Hint: Check the location of the publishing company on the title page.)

5. On a separate piece of paper, write a paragraph that explains the quote below in terms of American literature. Specifically, explain why it is important to read works written by women, minorities, and regional writers. Why is it important to obtain more than one perspective of American life and literature in the mid-19th century?

> *Reality happens to be like a landscape possessed of an infinite number of perspectives, all equally veracious and authentic. The sole false perspective is that which claims to be the only one there is.*
>
> —Jose Ortega y Gasset

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U.S. History Textbook Survey

How should the story of the American West be told? Textbooks have generally told the story of the American West primarily through one or two chapters about the "westward movement" during the 19th century. In reality, people have been moving into the region from north, south, east, and west for thousands of years.

Some of the new western historians believe that this story is overly romantic and blocks Americans from truly understanding the experiences of people living in the West and from addressing the future of the region. As a starting point for considering how the story should be told, survey your textbook to determine how the authors and publishers decided to tell the story. Use the following questions as your guide.

1. Survey the table of contents and skim chapter headings. What information is included about the American West

   Before the 1500s

   1500-1600

   1600-1700

   1700-1800

   1800-1900

   1900-present

2. Is there a chapter on the "westward movement"? Does it include information about people moving to the American West from other directions?

3. List pages on which you find information and illustrations about the perspectives and experiences of individuals and groups in the American West who are non-European.

   Native American

   Asian

   African

   Latin American

4. If you were hired as a consultant on rewriting your textbook, what advice might you give the author to provide a broader view of the American West?

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II.

COMING INTO THE COUNTRY

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5. COMING INTO THE COUNTRY: ORAL HISTORIES AND "DISCOVERY"

Introduction:

This lesson is designed to help students uncover a deeper understanding of what it means to discover a new culture or region through conducting oral histories. Discovery is a mutual activity. While Columbus discovered America, the people who were living in the Americas were discovering him. Tourists, immigrants, and migrants all experience discovery, as do the people whom they encounter.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Define and experience "discovery" as encounters with new cultures, regions, and ideas.

2. Develop skills of collecting oral histories.

Time Required: 2 class periods with time between the two classes for students to conduct their oral histories and prepare their presentations.

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 5-1 for all students. Each student will need to have access to a portable tape recorder and tapes. A large world map will be useful, especially if it can be written on; if not, use self-adhesive notes to add information to the map.

You may need to locate and make arrangements for students to interview recent immigrants. One way to do so is to place an announcement in the local newspaper, asking immigrants to write to you about their experiences. You may want to pose some of the questions on the handout in your announcement. You can use the material sent to select the best interview subjects. Teachers who have used the strategy have found it successful and have also discovered that the local history society is happy to accept all the written responses, so that people who are not selected for interviews have not wasted their time writing to you.

If possible, you may want to arrange for volunteers to transcribe students' tapes. A resource that provides useful sample questions is Bob Greene and D.G. Fulford's *To Our Children's Children: Preserving Family History* (New York: Doubleday, 1993).

Procedure:

1. To stimulate student conversation about discovery, share with them the following quotations:

> *Discovery is like a continuing conversation.*
> *Discovery is the invention of story and stories have power.*
> Richard White

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Patricia R. Hardy and Jenny McGourty-Riggs, El Roble Intermediate School, Claremont, California.

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For an experience of discovery, the place involved does not have to be new to everyone; it has to be new to the discoverer. However the natives respond, the person encountering a new place is having an experience of some significance.

Patricia Limerick

According to these definitions, have students had an experience of discovery? What was the experience like? To concretize the idea that discovery is a mutual activity, ask students to think about Lewis and Clark from the Indian point of view. What version of discovery do students think Native Americans invented to explain their visitors?

As an optional introduction to the concept of discovery, arrange for another class to walk through your classroom with the task of "discovering your class" and then writing up their observations. Share the findings with your class. Are the observations accurate? Was the act of discovery happening in two directions or just one?

2. Tell students that in this lesson they are going to be learning about family and immigrant discovery experiences through oral history. Whether a family arrived in the community last week or centuries ago, there is a story of discovery to be told.

3. Distribute Handout 5-1 and discuss the guidelines for conducting an oral history. Explain that students will complete two histories—one of someone in their family and one of a recent arrival in the United States. You may want students to work in pairs. Be sensitive to providing options for students in unconventional families, such as group homes or foster care. You may need to help students locate recent immigrants to interview.

4. Pair students and ask them to practice the skills of collecting oral histories using a question related to a common event that they will all remember, such as their memories of their first day of school. Each student should have a turn as the subject and as the interviewer. If feasible, have students practice taping the interviews. Debrief the practice session by asking the following questions:

- When you were the subject, what did the interviewer do that was helpful?
- When you were the interviewer, what problems did you have?

5. Tell students how long they will have to conduct their interviews and prepare to report on a highlight from each interview. Encourage students to use maps, quotes, visuals, or short excerpts from their tapes in their reports. Remind students to write thank you letters to their interviewees.

6. As reports are given, collect information on a world map or retrieval chart (see sample on following page) to show journeys, patterns in settlement, values, and expectations about life in your community.

7. To conclude the lesson, ask students to reflect on how the oral histories influenced their understanding of discovery.

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Sample Retrieval Chart

Name	Year of Birth	Place of Origin	When Arrived Here	Most Memorable World Event Occurring Then	Responses to New Home		Type of Work Done	Pay Level		
					Likes	Dislikes		Fair	Under paid	Over paid

Guidelines for Conducting Oral Histories

To learn more about the process of discovery experienced by people as they immigrated to this community, you are going to conduct two oral history interviews. Oral history is the process of gathering information from people involved in particular events through an interview. One interview will be conducted with a member of your family or household. The other interview will be conducted with a recent immigrant to your community.

When you have conducted your interviews, you will be asked to share a highlight from each interview with the class. If possible, use a visual, a "sound bite" from your tapes, a map, or quotation to make your presentation as interesting and authentic as possible.

Below are guidelines to follow in conducting your interviews. You will have a chance to practice these procedures with a classmate.

1. Set up your tape recorder with two microphones. Use a 90-minute tape. Label the tape with date, name, and length. Take a notepad to write questions that you do not want to interrupt to ask on the tape, such as spelling of names.

2. Before turning the recorder on, brainstorm where you both want the conversation to go. Plan some good questions in advance. If you are too structured with questions, you may limit what the subject says. Select some indirect questions to gather anecdotal information.

   Some starters for learning about discovery:

   - Where did you come from? How long did your journey take? When did you arrive?
   - What did you notice that you liked about this place? The landscape? The architecture? What did you notice that bothered you?
   - Who was kind to you? Did anyone take advantage of you?
   - What did you learn about yourself and the country from which you came by entering this community?
   - How did *you* change the community? What type of work did you do?
   - What stories did you tell people back home about your journey, discovery?
   - What events were taking place in the world/country at this time?

3. Begin the interview by asking where and when the interview subject was born. This information will save you from asking several other questions about dates.

4. Ask about related visual material—letters, documents, photographs—that is being discussed. You may need to describe this material on the tape.

5. Try to bring your subject back to the topic. Tell them you want to know about everyday life. Don't be surprised if they tell you that they haven't done anything worth recording.

6. Never record secretly. Ask your subject to sign a release form so you can share the information you collect. (See next page.)

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7. Be polite. Provide time for the person to answer questions. Don't argue or correct the subject. Oral histories are not always accurate—they do provide important information about feelings and impressions. End by thanking your subject. Follow up with a thank you letter.

Sample Interview Agreement Form

In view of the historical value of this oral history interview, I _____

knowingly and voluntarily permit _____ the full use of this

information for the purpose of _____,

in return for which I will receive a typed copy of the interview.

Name_____ Date_____

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6. A CROSSROADS NOVEL: *WOLF SONG*

Introduction:

The novel *Wolf Song* by Harvey Fergusson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1927, 1981) illustrates well the multicultural story of western history. Its sexism and racism, while making it unacceptable for some classrooms, can be examined in terms of how stereotypes are set up and then broken down in the course of the novel. Reading and discussion of the novel will be most meaningful when students have acquired some background on trappers/mountain men through text or other readings.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Describe the culture of trappers and Mexicans in northern New Mexico and of Cheyenne Indians.

2. Describe the foods and geography of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico.

3. Examine sexism, racism, and gender roles as they are used by the author in this novel.

4. Analyze character development and the use of foils.

Time Required: Time to read the 206-page novel plus approximately 4 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 6-1 through 6-5 for all students. Students will also need copies of the novel.

Procedure:

1. Begin the lesson by asking students to brainstorm the attributes that they associate with the following people in Taos in the 1830s: a mountain man, a Hispanic woman, a Native American man, and a priest. Accept all responses, probing to find out where students' perceptions originated.

2. Explain that students will be reading a novel that involves characters who fit all the categories you listed in the step above. Assign the reading of the book. The map activity (Handout 6-1), the food activity (Handout 6-2), and the cultural universals chart (Handout 6-3) can be assigned *during* the reading of the novel. They will take approximately 30 minutes each to debrief, more if the food lesson results in a meal and tasting. In discussing Handout 6-2, you may want to have students compare the use of food in this novel to its use in other works, such as *Like Water for Chocolate* or *Babette's Feast*. You may also want to draw some comparisons with what can be learned about students' own lives and characters by considering the foods that they eat. What role would food play in a novelization of your students' lives? Similar contemporary connections could be made when discussing the cultural universals handout (6-3). You might also want to expand

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Ideas for this lesson contributed by Maria Baca, Horizon High School, Adams County Five Star District 12, Colorado, and Kevin Discher, Garber High School, Essexville, Michigan.

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the discussion to include other cultural universals, including tools and weapons, valued possessions, transportation, nonverbal communication, language, families, means of social control, systems of trade and exchange, and religion.

3. The worksheets on sexism and racism (Handout 6-4) and gender roles (Handout 6-5) are each designed to last one class period. Use the worksheets to generate small-group discussion, which is later reported out to the entire class. In introducing Handout 6-4, you may find it helpful to develop a class definition of the terms *stereotype*, *racism*, and *sexism* and to discuss how people use stereotypes—both in everyday life and in literary works. If students have read *Huckleberry Finn*, some initial discussion of the use of racial epithets in the two works may help orient students to the issues examined in this handout. In the large-group discussion of the handout, you may wish to pose the following questions to stimulate additional thought:

- Was Fergusson racist? If not, why did he include racist language and remarks?
- What did Fergusson do to contest or challenge the stereotypes?
- How does Fergusson show the blending or combining of cultures in the West? How can this notion be applied to the West in general?

In discussing Handout 6-5, you may want to focus additional attention on question 6, discussing how Fergusson uses Black Wolf as a foil for Sam. What is the function of a foil? Is the use of Black Wolf as a foil effective? How does comparing and contrasting the two characters help students better understand racial and gender stereotypes and their role in the story? If Black Wolf and Sam were to sit at a campfire discussing women, hunting, and their most prized possessions, what might the dialogue be like?

4. Discuss with students how the perceptions of the mountain man, Hispanic woman, Native American man, and priest they brainstormed at the beginning of the lesson are different from the portrayals in the book. What accounts for the differences? Do they think their own or Fergusson's perceptions are more accurate? Why?

5. To conclude the lesson, ask each student to write a brief review of the book, explaining for whom they would recommend this book and why.

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Plotting the Action of *Wolf Song*

Many of the locations mentioned in *Wolf Song* can be located on a map.

1. Draw your own map of Colorado and New Mexico. Include the following:

   Santa Fe Trail
   Santa Fe, NM
   Taos, NM
   Bent's Old Fort
   Cimarron, NM
   Socorro, NM
   Rio Grande River
   Arkansas River
   Purgatoire River (sometimes Purgatory or Picketwire)
   South Platte River
   White Mountains
   Sangre de Cristo Mountains (Blood of Christ)

   Make a scale of miles and a distance chart.

2. Select five scenes from the novel and locate them on the map with small, simple drawings and a few phrases of explanation.

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Food in *Wolf Song*

1. Food is very important in this novel and is often used to tell the reader about the character traits of the people who eat it. For example, re-read the pages in which we first meet Lola (pp. 46-48).
   - What foods do we associate with Lola?
   - What does that tell about her?
   - Describe the meal her family eats in this passage.
   - What does it tell about the Salazars?
2. Find three other passages in which food is described. Analyze each passage as you did above.
3. Go to the library and find cookbooks with historic recipes of the West, Colorado, New Mexico, etc. Find recipes for any three of the items you mentioned above. Copy the recipes onto 3 x 5 cards and illustrate them.
4. Optional: Prepare the *Wolf Song* foods to taste and tell what each represents in the novel.

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Cultural Universals in *Wolf Song*

Complete the chart below, using information from the novel.

	Lola Salazar	Sam Lash	Black Wolf
Food			
Shelter			
Clothing			

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Racism and Sexism in *Wolf Song*

1. Find five examples of racism or sexism in this novel. Copy them out, give the page number, and tell why the passage is offensive.

2. Point of view is problematic in this novel. Exactly who tells the story is not made clear. What kind of person do you think the narrator is, based on his/her racist remarks?

3. What does the apparent acceptability of stereotyping groups of people tell us about attitudes in the mid-1800s? In 1927, when the novel was published?

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4. In what ways does Fergusson break down the very stereotypes that he set up for the reader? In the end, which characters remain stereotypes? Which characters develop? Which remain static?

5. Explain the context in which the quotation below occurs in the novel's plot. Explain what it means in terms of the theme of the novel.

> *Antagonists by accident, they looked at each other without hatred, with a mild surprise* (p. 189).

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Men and Women in *Wolf Song*

1. Explain Sam Lash's relationships with women as described in the quotation: "The girls liked him wild and hard to catch and liked him the better for that" (p. 18). Does Sam have a modern literary counterpart?

2. "You never quit the mountains till you got rubbed out" (p. 8) is repeated throughout the book. Does the ending support this saying? Why or why not? If you think the two do not match, how would you revise the saying to match the ending? Is this the theme of the story?

3. Why does Sam get in a fight just before he goes to Lola's shelter? Why are his friends so involved in his pursuit of Lola?

4. What is the priest's function in the plot? What does he stand for? How is he a different kind of friend for Sam than the mountain men?

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5. Why is Lola so attracted to Sam? What part does ethnicity play? Is Sam more like Lola's brothers or father?

6. In what ways is Black Wolf's story parallel to Sam's? In what ways is it different?

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7. SUSAN MAGOFFIN'S DIARY: A VICTORIAN WOMAN OBSERVES LIFE IN THE AMERICAN WEST

Introduction:

When an upper-class Anglo woman moved West in the mid-19th century, one of her goals, if she was a proper Victorian woman, was to establish a home that reflected the prevailing morality and virtue of the times—the "cult of true womanhood." In this lesson, students analyze selected diary entries of an 18-year-old bride from a prominent Kentucky family to understand how this prevailing view is reflected in her observations about the West as a crossroads of cultures.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Present evidence that the American West represented a convergence of cultures.

2. Analyze a young Victorian woman's diary for evidence of the values, training, and social status reflected in the "cult of true womanhood."

3. Explain how cultural contact and cultural borrowing shaped the experience of people living at Bent's Fort.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 7-1 for all students.

Procedure:

1. Discuss the cult of true womanhood and Susan Magoffin as a Victorian woman using the introductory material on Handout 7-1. Emphasize that setting up and maintaining a home that reflected morality and virtue was one of the most important roles of a Victorian woman.

2. Assign students to read Magoffin's diary entries and answer the accompanying questions. As they work, students should look for evidence of Magoffin's desire to recreate her eastern life-style in the West as well as her attraction to cultural practices of Mexican settlers that make sense to her.

3. Ask students to compare their findings. Discuss such questions as:

- To what degree is Susan influenced by the people that she meets and the unfamiliar environment?
- Why is Susan shocked by gambling at the fort? How does she feel about the makeup and hair of the Mexican women? How does she react to the Indian woman's birth experience?

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Barbara Perry, Cornwall High School, Cornwall, New York.

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- To what degree is her life in the West influenced by cultural conditioning of the "cult of true womanhood"?
- What do you think the Mexican laborers and Cheyenne women think of Susan? What might they write about Susan if they kept a diary?
- How does knowing about the "cult of true womanhood" influence the way you read the diary?
- Imagine you were at the fort with Susan. How would your judgments about what you saw differ from hers? What accounts for the differences? for any similarities?

You may want to tell students what happened to Susan after her time in Santa Fe, which the Magoffins left early in October to travel down the Rio Grande into Chihuahua, where they stayed for several months. Since the Mexican-American War was then going on, Susan spent much of this time in fear, turning to religion. She became pregnant again during the trip. While her first pregnancy ended in a miscarriage, this baby was born when Susan was ill with yellow fever in Matamoras (near present-day Brownsville, Texas) and died at only a few days old. In all, 15 months passed before Susan returned to Kentucky. Upon their return, her husband gave up the Santa Fe trade to deal in real estate. They lived for several years in Lexington, Kentucky; their first daughter was born there in 1851. In 1852 they moved to Missouri. In 1855, Susan died after giving birth to her second daughter. Her husband married her cousin, also named Susan Shelby.

4. Conclude the lesson by discussing the American West as a place where cultures converged. What evidence do students see of cultural borrowing? Of cultural conflict? Based on Susan's observations, how did class, race, and gender unite and separate people at Bent's Fort and in Santa Fe?

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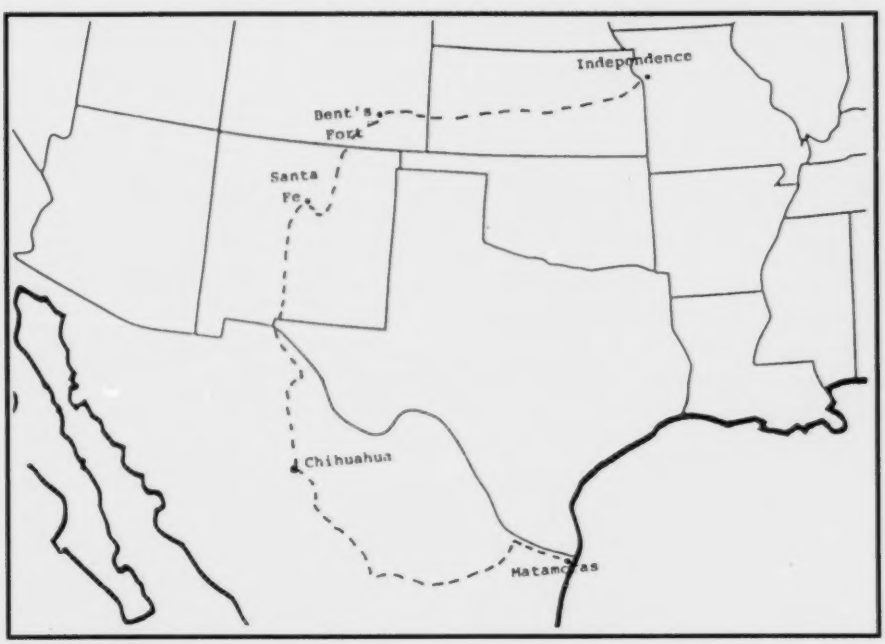
The Cult of True Womanhood in the American West

When people moved west in the mid-19th century, they consciously considered which things from their cultures they wanted to take with them. Aspiring middle and upper class women carefully considered what they would need to establish a proper home. Many of them hoped to make their new home "here" (the place where they settled to build a new life) look as much as possible like their home "there" (the place from which they came). In addition to packing artifacts that represented symbols of their culture, they took very seriously the expectation that, as women, it was their responsibility to establish a proper moral environment for their family.

This philosophy, referred to as the *cult of true womanhood*, meant that the home became a sanctuary in which women established a proper setting for teaching their children virtues and moral responsibility. By undertaking charitable works, ensuring cleanliness and modesty, the Victorian woman was supposed to make up for the materialism and aggression of the masculine business world. Through the woman's work, the home became a haven from a corrupt and dangerous world.

How realistic was this expectation for women who traveled West? The diary of Susan Magoffin provides an opportunity to look at the values, morals, and lifestyles of communities in the American West through the eyes of a young Victorian woman—the first to travel the Santa Fe Trail.

In 1846, at the age of 18, Susan married Samuel Magoffin and joined her husband (who was 27 years older than she) on a six-month honeymoon trip to Philadelphia and New York. Later that year, she was a member of her husband's merchant caravan from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe. While on the trip, Susan developed complications related to her pregnancy, causing the caravan to stop at Bent's Fort (near present-day La Junta, Colorado) on the border between Mexico and the United States.



Route of Susan Magoffin's trip through the West

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Bent's Fort exposed Susan to a community where people from many cultures and backgrounds converged. Not only did Susan meet fellow Americans, she observed such other women as George Bent's wife, Owl Woman, a Cheyenne, and Mexican women who were employed at the Fort as laborers.

Read the following excerpts from Susan's diary describing Bent's Fort and Santa Fe. Then answer these questions:

- How do Susan's values reflect the "cult of true womanhood"? What does she believe to be her role as a wife? What part of her life from back home does she plan to maintain?
- What aspects of Mexican and Native American cultures does Susan admire? What negative judgments does she make? Which aspects of these cultures does she consider adopting?
- What value conflicts does Susan experience as she travels in the West? What evidence do you find that she has already changed since she left Missouri?

Susan Magoffin's Diary

Bent's Fort, July 27, 1846

And now for something of a description. Well the outside exactly fills my idea of an ancient castle. It is built of adobes, unburnt brick, and Mexican style so far. The walls are very high and very thick with rounding corners. There is but one entrance, this is to the East rather.

Inside is a large space some ninety or an hundred feet *square*, all around this and next the wall are rooms, some twenty-five in number. They have dirt floors—which are spinkled with water several times during the day to prevent dust. Standing in the center of some of them is a large wooden post as a firmer prop to the ceiling which is made of logs. Some of these rooms are occupied by boarders as bed chambers. One is a dining-room—another a kitchen—a little store, a blacksmith's shop, a barber's do an ice house, which receives perhaps more customers than any other.

On the South side is an inclosure for stock in dangerous times and often at night. On one side of the top wall are rooms built in the same manner as below. We are occupying one of these, but of that anon.

They have a well inside, and fine water it is—especially with ice. At present they have quite a number of boarders. The traders and soldiers chiefly, with a few *lofers* from the States, come out because they can't live at home.

There is no place on Earth I believe where man lives and gambling on some form or other is not carried on. Here in the Fort, and who could have supposed such a thing, they have a *regularly established billiard room!* They have a regular race track. And I hear the cackling of chickens at such a rate some times I shall not be surprised to hear of a cock-pit.

Source: *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847*, edited by Stella M. Drumm (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1926, 1962), pp. 60-63, 68-69, 102-104. © Yale University Press. All rights reserved.

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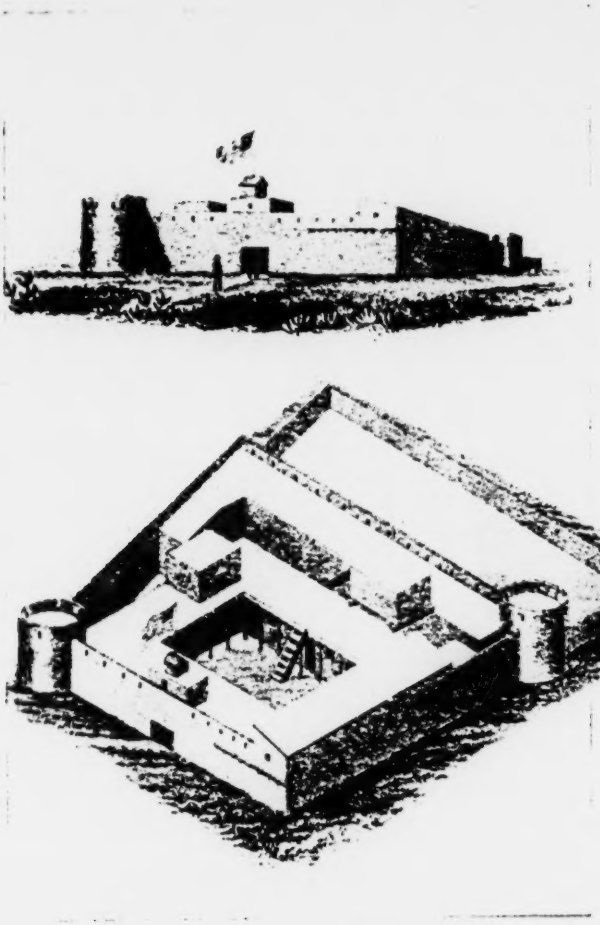

BENT'S FORT

From Abert's "Journal from Bent's Fort to St. Louis in 1845."

Now for our room; it is quite roomy. Like the others it has a dirt floor, which I keep sprinkling constantly during the day; we have two windows one looking out on the plain, the other is on the *patio* or yard. We have our own furniture, such as bed, chairs, wash basin, table furniture, and we eat in our own room. It is keeping house regularly, but I beg leave not to be allowed *that* privilege much longer.

They have one large room as a parlor; there are no chairs but a cushion next the wall on two sides, so the company set all round in a circle. There is no other furniture than a table on which stands a bucket of water, free to all. Any water that may be left in the cup after drinking is unceremoniously tossed onto the floor.

When we came last evening, while they were fixing our room, I sat in the parlour with *las senoritas* [the ladies], the wife of Mr. George Bent and some others. One of them sat and combed her hair all the while notwithstanding the presence of Mr. Lightendoffer, whose lady (a Mexican) was present. After the combing she paid her devoirs to a crock of oil or greese of some kind, and

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it is not exaggeration to say it almost *driped* from her hair to the floor. If I had not seen her at it, I never would have believed it greese, but that she had been washing her head.

Friday morning 31st of July. My pains commenced and continued till 12 o'c. at night, when after much agony and severest of pains, which were relieved a little at times by medicine given by Dctr. Mesure, *all was over.* I sunk off into a kind of lethargy, in *mi alma's* arms. Since that time I have been in my bed till yesterday a little while, and a part of today.

My situation was very different from that of an Indian woman in the room below me. She gave birth to a fine healthy baby, about the same time, *and in half an hour after she went to the River and bathed herself and it,* and this she has continued each day since. Never could I have believed such a thing, if I had not been there, and *mi alma's* own eyes had not seen her coming from the River. And some gentleman here tells him, he has often seen them immediately after the birth of a child go to the water and *break the ice* to bathe themselves!

It is truly astonishing to see what customs will do. No doubt many ladies in civilized life are ruined by too careful treatments during child-birth, for this custom of the hethen is not known to be disadvantageous, but it is a *"hethenish custom."*

Though forbidden to rise from my bed, I was free to meditate, on the follies and wickedness of man! Of a creature formed for nobler and higher purposes, sinking himself to the level of beasts, waging warfare with his fellow man, even as the dumb brute. And by his example teaching nothing good, striving for wealth, honour and fame to the ruining of his soul, and loosing a brighter crown in higher realms.——

All of the Traders followed on after the troops the next three days.

The Fort is quite desolate. Most who are here now of the soldiers are sick. Two have died, and have been buried in the sand hills, the common fate of man. One must have great faith in their Creator, great reliance on his goodness, not to feel sad and uneasy to see such things passing around them,—their fellow creatures snatched off in a moment without warning almost—and they are themselves lying on a bed of sickness. It requires much prayer for submission, for tranquility, &c.

Saturday 29. On the trail to Santa Fé. An other Spanish beauty, I saw this evening, with her face pained, a custom they have among them when they wish to look *fair and beautiful* at a "Fandango," of covering their faces with paint or flour-paste and letting it remain till it in a measure bleaches them. These I saw one of them had paste—and with it more the appearance of one from the tombs than otherwise. Another had hers fixed off with red paint which I at first thought was blood.

Santa Fé. August 31st 1846. It is really hard to realize it, that I am here in my own house, in a place too where I once would have thought it folly to think of visiting. I have entered the city in a year that will always be remembered by my countrymen; and under the "Star-spangled banner" too, the first American lady, who has come under such auspices, and some of our company seem disposed to make me the first under any circumstances that ever crossed the Plains.

Nuestra casa [our house] is situated under the shadow of *"la inglesia"* [the church], and quite a nice little place it is. We have four rooms including *la cochina* [the kitchen], our own chamber,

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storage room, and the reception room, parlour, dining-room, and in short room of all work. This is a long room with dirt floor (as they all have) plank ceiling, and nicely white-washed sides.

Around one half to the height of six feet is tacked what may be called a schreen for it protects ones back from the white wash, if he should chance to lean against it; it is made of calico, bound at each edge, and looks quite fixy; the seats which are mostly cushioned benches, are placed against it—the floor too at the same end of the room is covered with a kind of Mexican carpeting; made of wool & coloured black and white only. In short we may consider this great hall as two rooms, for one half of it is carpeted and furnished for the parlour, while the other half has a naked floor, the dining table and all things attached to that establishment to occupy it. Our chamber, at one end of the "big room," is a nice cool little room, with two windows, which we can darken, or make light at pleasure, and I must say it is truly pleasant to follow after the Mexican style, which is after dinner to close the shutters and take a short siesta; it both refreshens the mind and body, one is then prepared, without fatigue, of the morning's labours, to go about the duties of the evening.

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8. BLACK TOWNS IN THE WEST: A CASE STUDY OF THE EXODUSTERS

Introduction:

In the 1870s and 1880s, thousands of Black Americans settled in Kansas, Oklahoma, and other parts of the American West. Nicodemus, Boley, and other black towns were the product of long-distance migration of blacks from the Deep South. How similar were the experiences of newly freed slaves drawn to the American West to those of their Anglo counterparts? Were the promoters of all black communities solely interested in making a profit or were they sincerely working to create new communities for people desperately seeking opportunity? This lesson helps students explore the economic, political, and racial concerns that motivated and shaped the formation and demise of all-black towns in the West through analysis of the oldest and only remaining black settled town—Nicodemus, Kansas.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Describe the hardships and successes of black Americans who settled "exoduster" communities in the American West.

2. Compare theories related to the motivations of black Americans to move west following the Civil War.

3. Analyze the settlement of Nicodemus to determine some of the similarities and differences between Nicodemus and neighboring communities.

Time Required: 2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 8-1, 8-2, and 8-3 for all students. You will also need three to five copies of Role Card 1 and enough copies of Role Card 2 for the rest of the class. You will also need a physical map of Kansas or the United States.

Procedure:

1. Introduce the lesson by asking students to consider how they think the experiences of African-American settlers on the Great Plains were similar to and different from those of their Anglo counterparts. After a brief discussion of some of students' ideas, explain that they will have an opportunity to analyze this question by participating in a simulation in which they look at the "exoduster" movement of black Americans to the West following the Civil War from the perspectives of promoters who encouraged the move west and of newly freed blacks who were desperately seeking opportunity.

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Benee Hopson, Luther Burbank High School, Sacramento, California, and Shaun Waldron, Niles West High School, Skokie, Illinois.

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2. Assign three to five students to prepare for the role of Nicodemus town promoters using Role Card 1 and the handbill (Handout 8-1; the group should have copies to pass out at the meeting). Their task is to convince settlers to come to Kansas. The rest of the class should prepare to take the role of newly freed blacks living in a Kentucky community; they will attend a meeting to hear presentations from the promoters of Nicodemus, a proposed all-black town in western Kansas. The newly freed blacks should work in pairs (or families) to answer questions on the role cards. Allow 20 minutes for preparation.

3. Conduct the simulated presentation and discussion of the proposal to move to Nicodemus. The meeting should include (1) a presentation by the Nicodemus town promoters, (2) questions from the potential emigrants, and (3) decision-making by potential emigrants with the town promoters present. Following the simulation, analyze the decision made using the following questions:

- What types of problems are the immigrants prepared to face?
- What resources do they have to get them through the winter? To set up farming in the high plains?
- Were the promoters truly interested in the betterment of the group? Were the promoters sincere or exaggerating the benefits of the town?

4. Use a physical map of Kansas or the United States to show students where Nicodemus is located (near Smith Center). What type of landscape would they expect to find based on the topographical map? Provide students with Handout 8-2. Explain that they will now have an opportunity to learn about the earliest immigrants to Nicodemus. How does the information about Nicodemus compare with their plans?

5. Based on the Nicodemus case study, what would explain the rise of all-black towns? Copy the two theories below on the board. Explain that historians have two common explanations for black migration. Which one do students think is the best explanation based on the information provided? Based on the information provided in the lesson, which hypothesis best explains the development of black towns in the west?

Hypothesis 1

> Black settlers' efforts at community building in the American West were a result of racism and oppression of the dominant society.

Hypothesis 2

> Black promoters, using strategies similar to those of their Anglo counterparts (and with encouragement and financing from Anglos), created interest in moving west.

6. Provide students with Handout 8-3. From the list provided, what can you say about other black towns in the West? Which states have the largest number of towns? What would make some states more popular than others for those founding all-black communities? What information can you gather about the poeple who founded these black towns based on the names they chose for their towns? Which of the towns were named after African-American heros? Which towns were named after ideals?

7. Finally, turn students' attention to possible reasons for the disappearance of most all-black towns. Why can so few of the towns on Handout 8-3 be found on contemporary maps? (Blacks did

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not have an opportunity to settle in the most advantageous settings, they lacked sufficient resources to start farming in a geographic setting very different from where they had farmed before, they found other opportunities, general economic conditions caused farmers to lose their land). Encourage students to develop a hypothesis about the demise of the "exoduster" communities and to conduct research to test their hypothesis.

Resources:

Information for the role cards and handouts was taken from *Black Towns and Profit*, by Kenneth Marvin Hamilton (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); *Great Plains*, by Ian Frazier (New York: Penguin Books, 1989); and *Going Home to Nicodemus: The Story of an African-American Frontier Town and the Pioneers Who Settled It*, by David Chu and Bill Shaw (Morristown, NJ: Julian Messsner/Silver Burdett Press, 1994). This last book would be a good reference for students.

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Role Card 1
Nicodemus Town Promoters

Background

W.R. Hill, an Anglo speculator, worked closely with W.H. Smith, a black minister from Tennessee, to found two communities. Their goal was to establish a white community to be called Hill City, and a black town, Nicodemus. Hill and Smith were frontier real estate brokers who organized town companies by claiming government land for a townsite, subdividing the land into lots, and then selling the lots at a profit. The leaders set fees for locating a homestead and filing papers. Fees ranged from $2 to $20. Five other partners, all African-American men from Kentucky, joined in the effort to promote the "largest colored colony in America."

Task

Assume the role of a Nicodemus "booster" making a visit to a black community in Kentucky to recruit settlers. Plan a presentation using the information provided below.

1. Describe Kansas as a "promised land" for ex-slaves. Remind people that John Brown, the abolitionist folk hero, began his efforts in Kansas. Also talk about the work of Benjamin "Old Pap" Singleton, a slave who escaped and then traveled the Midwest promoting the idea of all-black communities. These towns were to be separate yet coexist with surrounding white communities. Singleton, considered a "Moses" to his people, called for an "exodus." He successfully led a group of 300 black settlers to the southeastern corner of Kansas in 1873.

2. Emphasize your town's inspirational name. Nicodemus was an African prince who was brought to the American colonies in 1692 and was sold as a slave. He declared that the whites would someday regret having enslaved the black people. Nicodemus was the first slave to buy his freedom in America. Since he achieved freedom through financial success, he was thought to be an appropriate symbol for the new town.

3. Pass out handbills that promise what people are looking for—land with trees and water, shops to provide goods, animals that can be hunted for food, and herds of wild horses that can be tamed to pull plows. Describe your town as a Promised Land—explain that there are no "saloons" or "other houses of ill fame." Since many ex-slaves have not learned to read, read your circular aloud—stress high morals to appeal to blacks who are looking for a safe place to raise a family. Explain that you are looking for settlers with money and energy.

4. Introduce "boosters" who will describe the advantages of the new community. Try to get a volunteer to lead an immigration society.

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Role Card 2
Newly Freed Blacks Considering a Move West

Background:

With the end of Reconstruction, life has become even more difficult for you and other newly freed slaves. As African-Americans living in Kentucky in 1877, you want a better life. At the same time, you will need a good reason for leaving familiar surroundsings. So far, you have stayed in the South because you fear the perils of life in an unknown area. The social rules of the Jim Crow South are harsh, but you clearly understand what is expected of you. More important, even if you had the desire to move, where would you find the resources to do so?

You are giving serious thought to moving west. A neighbor has given you a handbill (which you are unable to read) and invited you to attend a meeting at a nearby black church tonight to hear from members of a "homestead association" that is trying to form black colonies in Kansas. You have heard of Kansas—that's where John Brown, the famous abolitionist, worked to create a "promised land" before the Civil War.

Task

1. Consider your options. What options do you have for developing a future for yourself and your family? What would be the advantages of moving to the North or to the West? What forces would keep you in the South? How would you respond to the idea of moving to an all-black community in the American West? Chart your thinking:

North	**South**	**West**	**All black**
advantages/ disadvantages	advantages/ disadvantages	advantages/ disadvantages	advantages/ disadvantages

2. What does the handbill promise? What concerns do you have about going west? How do you expect life to be similar to and different from life in the South?

3. Question the town boosters. Find out what will be provided in the new town they are proposing. What will you need to take with you? How will you get there? What problems can you expect to encounter? How do you expect life to be improved? What additional information about the settlement of Nicodemus do you want?

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To the Colored Citizens of the United States.

NICODEMUS, GRAHAM CO., KAN., July 2d. 1877.

We, the Nicodemus Town Company of Graham County, Kan., are now in possession of our lands and the Town Site of Nicodemus, which is beautifully located on the N. W. quarter of Section 1, Town 8, Range 21, in Graham Co., Kansas, in the great Solomon Valley, 240 miles west of Topeka, and we are proud to say it is the finest country we ever saw. The soil is of a rich, black, sandy loam. The country is rather rolling, and looks most pleasing to the human eye. The south fork of the Solomon river flows through Graham County, nearly directly east and west and has an abundance of excellent water, while there are numerous springs of living water abounding throughout the Valley. There is an abundance of fine Magnesian stone for building purposes, which is much easier handled than the rough sand or hard stone. There is also some timber; plenty for fire use, while we have no fear but what we will find plenty of coal.

Now is your time to secure your home on Government Land in the Great Solomon Valley of Western Kansas.

Remember, we have secured the service of W. R. Hill, a man of energy and ability, to locate our Colony.

Not quite 90 days ago we secured our charter for locating the town site of Nicodemus. We then became an organized body, with only three dollars in the treasury and twelve members, but under the careful management of our officers, we have now nearly 300 good and reliable members, with several members permanently located on their claims—with plenty of provisions for the colony—while we are daily receiving letters from all parts of the country from parties desiring to locate in the great Solomon Valley of Western Kansas.

For Maps, Circulars, and Passenger rates, address our General Manager, W. R. HILL, North Topeka, Kansas, until August 1st, 1877, then at Hill City, Graham Co., via Trego.

The name of our post-office will be Nicodemus, and Mr. Z. T. Fletcher will be our "Nasby."

REV. S. P. ROUNDTREE, Sec'y.

NICODEMUS.

Nicodemus was a slave of African birth,
And was bought for a bag full of gold;
He was reckoned a part of the salt of the earth,
But he died years ago, very old.

Nicodemus was a prophet, at least he was as wise,
For he told of the battles to come:
How we trembled with fear, when he rolled up his eyes,
And we heeded the shake of his thumb.

CHORUS: Good time coming, good time coming,
Long, long time on the way;
Run and tell Elija to hurry up Pomp,
To meet us under the cottonwood tree,
In the Great Solomon Valley
At the first break of day.

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Nicodemus, Kansas: An African-American Frontier Town

The first 30 settlers, guided by W.R. Hill, the Anglo promoter of Nicodemus, arrived in Nicodemus in July of 1877. They traveled through Topeka, Kansas, the capital city 240 miles to the east. In September, 130 more families arrived. What they found was far different from the glowing promises of the circulars. The "promised land" lacked most of the assets that people expected. Instead they found dry windswept prairies. There were no wild horses to tame. The game they expected to hunt had migrated elsewhere in search of winter pasture. There were few trees, and there were no buildings or lumber for building. The landscape was very different from the familiar woodlands of Kentucky and Tennessee.

As winter approached, the settlers realized that they were facing life-threatening hardships. Many felt cheated and began to talk openly of hanging Hill. While many people blamed Hill for greediness in bringing people to Nicodemus under false presenses, others felt that he sincerely cared for the black people and wanted to help them. While 60 of those families turned back immediately, others decided to stay. They had traveled to this new place with family and friends, and they were prepared to sacrifice to make their new community work.

Those who stayed realized that they had arrived too late to grow any crops that year. To make things worse, the town promoters had not brought any supplies. This was a problem because the nearest grocery story was at the railhead at Ellis 30 miles away. Fortunately, a group of Osage Indians passed through on their way to hunt in the Rocky Mountains; on their return trip, they offered the Nicodemus pioneers meat. Sympathetic whites in nearby communities also helped. While the people survived, only three horses remained in the spring.

What about shelter? Since there was no lumber and timber was very scarce, the Nicodemus pioneers built dugouts into the sides of hills using similar methods to those of many Anglo neighbors.

By 1876, the town was a bustling center with 500 residents. By 1877, there were churches, schools, and two newspapers. As part of a campaign to attract new settlers, one of the town newspapers, the *Cyclone*, stated: "If there is a paradise on earth, it certainly is here." The people of the town voted to borrow money to bring a rail line to the community. In spite of a strong, spirited community effort, the railroads bypassed Nicodemus. By 1890, the economy of the town as well as the population started to decline.

Nicodemus is but one of many communities that African Americans founded on the Great Plains. In a four-month period in 1879, between 15,000 and 20,000 poor blacks started out for Kansas. They traveled by rail, steamboat up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and over land by wagon, mules, or on foot. At first, Kansans welcomed the "Exodusters," but before long the Governor and railroad officials tried to discourage further black migration. Form letters were sent out saying that all the good land was taken, that no laborers were needed, and that each family would need $500.

Not only did the migration of black people stop, two-thirds left the state. The towns began to disappear as the "Exodusters" died, returned to the south, or moved on to other opportunities in the West.

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Today Nicodemus can still be found on Highway 24. For most of the year, it is a community of about 50 people. During one summer weekend, the population swells with visitors from throughout the United States. On Founders Day Weekend, descendants of Nicodemus families return to celebrate the beginnings of the only community founded by newly freed slaves that survived to the present day. If you visit Nicodemus, the townspeople will tell you about their efforts to make the city a National Historical Site so that its story would not be lost. The dependents of the original settlers are proud of their ancestors, who did not surrender to the hardships of life on the windswept prairies.

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Black Towns in the West

California
- Abila
- Allensworth
- Bowles
- Victorville

Iowa
- Buxton

Kansas
- Nicodemus

New Mexico
- Blackdom

Oklahoma
- Arkansas Colored
- Bailey
- Boley
- Bookertee
- Canadian Colored
- Chase
- Clearview
- Ferguson
- Foreman
- Gibson Station
- Grayson
- Langston City
- Lewisville
- Liberty
- Lima
- Lincoln City
- Mantu
- Marshalltown
- North Fork Colored
- Overton
- Porter
- Redbird
- Rentiesville
- Summit
- Taft
- Tatum
- Tullahassee
- Vernon
- Wellston Colony
- Wybark
- Two unnamed towns in the Seminole Nation

Texas
- Andy
- Board House
- Booker
- Independence Heights
- Kendleton
- Mill City
- Oldham
- Roberts
- Union City

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9. LANDSCAPE IN NOVELS OF THE AMERICAN WEST

Introduction:

The landscape of the American West is very diverse, with aridity being the characteristic that places in the region most likely have in common. While different people share the landscape, they may perceive and use it differently. In this lesson, literature provides a vehicle for exploring different perceptions and uses of the western landscape.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Analyze how point of view determines how literary characters perceive the landscape.

2. Compare and contrast perceptions and uses of the western landscape.

3. Write a personal statement about landscape and its importance in their own lives.

Time Required: 2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 9-1 and 9-2 for all students.

Procedure:

1. Write the following quotation on the chalkboard: "Until we know ourselves, we are rootless." Instruct students to free write for five minutes, reflecting upon this statement. If they seem to be having trouble getting started, guide them by asking, "What does this mean?" or "How does this statement apply to you?"

After the free writing has been completed, students can either share their writing with another student or share with the class. Explore any strands running through the writing. (The free writes can go into portfolios for later use.)

2. Ask students what we mean by landscape. With the class, develop a definition, making sure that it applies to both urban and rural settings. Encourage students to speculate on the connections between the quotation to which they reacted in step 1 and the landscape in which they live.

3. Give students copies of Handout 9-1, which presents brief excerpts from literary works. Each quote describes the landscape from the perspective of the main character of the work. Read each passage aloud; then have students reread the passage again silently, using the analysis grid on Handout 9-2 to explore vocabulary, the action actually taking place in the passage, style, character, point of view, description of the landscape, and what seems to be important about the landscape to the character involved.

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Elizabeth Lay, Oakland Technical School, Oakland, California.

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4. After students have read and analyzed the passages, discuss how a person's point of view shapes the way that they see the landscape and the importance that they place on certain aspects of the landscape. Examine the use of common and personal landmarks, comparing the characters' use of such landmarks with students' own use. If students made mental maps of the community (Lesson 3), use that experience as an example of how different people perceive the same landscape in different ways.

5. Instruct the students to write a descriptive piece about their own landscape. Then have students share their pieces in groups of four, commenting on two specifics that they liked about another student's writing and something that they want to know more about or that confuses them. Students should then revise their drafts using the comments of their group as a guide. (These pieces can go into portfolios with the free writes or be taken through the writing process at this time.) As an alternative, have students write responses to the following questions:

- Describe all the activities you engaged in for this assignment focusing on landscape in literature of the American West. Identify any problems you ran into completing the various activities and how you solved them.
- Which activity gave you the most understanding about landscape in the American West? What understanding did you come to?
- What is significant about recognizing landscape and its connection to character definition and development? What effect might your increased critical awareness of the importance of landscape have on the way in which you read works of literature? on you personally? Explain your response.

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The Landscape in Literature

Selection 1. From *Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place*, by Terry Tempest Williams

Great Salt Lake is about twenty-five minutes from our home. From the mouth of Emigration Canyon where we live, I drive west past Brigham Young standing on top of "This Is the Place" monument. When I reach Foothill Drive, I turn right, pass the University of Utah and make another right, heading east until I meet South Temple, which requires a left-hand turn. I arrive a few miles later at Eagle Gate, a bronze arch that spans State Street. I turn right once more. One block later, I turn left from North Temple and pass the Mormon Tabernacle on Temple Square. From here, I simply follow the gulls west, past the Salt Lake City International Airport.

Great Salt Lake: wilderness adjacent to a city; a shifting shoreline that plays havoc with highways; islands too stark, too remote to inhabit; water in the desert that no one can drink. It is the liquid lie of the West.

Excerpt from *Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place*, by Terry Tempest Williams. © 1991 Pantheon Books.

Selection 2. From *Living Up the Street*, by Gary Soto

We were terrible kids, I think. My brother, sister, and I felt a general meanness begin to surface from our tiny souls while living on Braly Street, which was in the middle of industrial Fresno. Across the street was Coleman Pickles, while on the right of us was a junkyard that dealt in metals—aluminum, iron, sheet metal, and copper stripped from refrigerators. Down the street was Sun-Maid Raisin, where a concrete tower rose above the scraggly sycamores that lined Braly Street. Many of our family worked at Sun-Maid: Grandfather and Grandmother, Father, three uncles, an aunt, and even a dog whose job was to accompany my grandfather, a security guard, on patrol. Then there was Challenge Milk, a printing shop, and the 7-Up Company where we stole sodas. Down the alley was a broom factory and Western Book Distributor, a place where our future step-father worked at packing books into cardboard boxes, something he would do for fifteen years before the company left town for Oregon.

This was 1957. My brother Rick was six, I was five, and Debra was four.

Excerpt from *Living Up the Street*. © 1985 by Gary Soto. Used by permission of the author. Published by Dell, 1992.

Selection 3. From *Dragonwings*, by Lawrence Yep

I only got my first close look at the land of the Golden Mountain when Hand Clap and I were finally released and we stood together before the open doorway leading out of the warehouse where all the immigrants were taken. I saw plenty of hills, but not one golden one. And all the demon houses looked so strange. They were boxlike in shape, with no courtyards inside them, as if the demons hated fresh air but liked being shut up in something like a trunk. The houses had almost no ornamentation and were painted in dull colors—when they were painted at all. The little boxlike houses seemed so drab to me that I even felt sorry for the demons who lived in them, for they lived like prisoners without knowing they were in a prison.

Excerpt from *Dragonwings*, by Lawrence Yep. Copyright © 1975. Used by permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

Selection 4: From *Farewell to Manzanar*

We rode all day. By the time we reached our destination, the shades were up. It was late afternoon. The first thing I saw was a yellow swirl across a blurred, reddish setting sun. The bus was being pelted by what sounded like splattering rain. It wasn't rain. This was my first look at something I would soon know very well, a billowing flurry of dust and sand churned up by the wind through Owens Valley.

We drove past a barbed-wire fence, through a gate...I could see a few tents set up, the first rows of black barracks, and beyond them, blurred by sand, rows of barracks that seemed to spread for miles across this plain...As we approached, [people] turned or stood up, and some moved toward us expectantly. But inside the bus no one stirred. No one waved or spoke.

Excerpt from *Farewell to Manzanar*, by Jeanne Wàkatsuki Houston and James D. Houston. Copyright c 1973. Published by Houghton Mifflin.

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Selection 5. From *Wolf Song*, by Harvey Fergusson

On the eastern slope snow still lay deep under heavy spruce timber and they foundered upward slow and hard, but where they came out on top of the divide above timber-line new grass was already up in the sun, wild sheep ran for the rocky peaks, marmots whistled and ptarmigan whirred. They stopped to blow their horses and looked east across a hundred miles of prairie and west to the broken tops of the San Juan range fifty miles away....

Down the west slope where the snow melts first everything was alive and the lower they went the more life showed. White-stemmed aspen was budding into leaf, brush along the canyon was greening and the creek roared over its banks with yellow water running straight from melting snow. Great blue fool-hens boomed up beside the trail and perched tame in tall dark spruce trees silver-tipped with the new year's growth. Once they came upon a black bear digging wild onions and he woofed and scampered making their pack mules snort and swerve.

They stopped for nothing.

Excerpt from *Wolf Song*, by Harvey Fergusson. Copyright © 1927; renewed 1955. Published by the University of Nebraska Press.

Selection 6. From *Fool's Crow*, by James Welch

White Man's Dog raised his eyes to the west and followed the Backbone of the World from south to north until he could pick out Chief Mountain. It stood a little apart from the other mountains, not as tall as some but strong, its square granite face a landmark to all who passed. But it was more than a landmark to the Pikunis, Kainahs, and Siksikas, the three tribes of the Blackfeet, for it was on top of Chief Mountain that the black horn skull pillows of the great warriors still lay. On those skulls Eagle Head and Iron Breast had dreamed their visions in the long-ago, and the animal helpers had made them strong in spirit and fortunate in war.

Excerpt from *Fool's Crow*, by James Welch. Copyright © 1987. Published by Viking Penguin.

Analysis Grid

	Vocabulary	**Action Taking Place**	**Style**	**Character's Point of View**	**Description of the Landscape**	Importance of Landscape?
Refuge						
Living up the Street						
Dragonwings						
Farewell to Manzanar						
Wolf Song						
Fool's Crow						

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III.

EXAMINING AND DEMYTHOLOGIZING THE MYTHIC WEST

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10. EXAMINING THE MYTHIC WEST IN FILM AND STORY

Introduction:

Images and stories of the West have been put to use as myth; that is, these stories have been shaped to teach cultural truths and values. Once so shaped, they have been repeated until they are familiar, even to those—such as Japanese or Europeans—who are outside our culture group. It is important that students understand that myth in this sense does *not* mean "untrue," but merely that the story has been shaped to make a cultural point. With this understanding, students can examine western film and story with a questioning and critical eye, not to dismiss them, but to see that they represent only part of the story of the West.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Understand myth as a story shaped and repeated to teach a cultural value.

2. Identify values taught by western stories and films.

3. Observe that the complete story of the convergence of culture has been left out of many myths of the West.

4. Discuss mythic heroes and their qualities.

Time Required: 1-3 class periods depending on which portions of the lesson you choose to do

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of the handouts you select for use with your class.

Procedure:

1. Introduce students to the following definition of *myth*:

> A myth is a story that has been shaped so it has a point to teach about the values or ways of the group that tells the story. In addition, this story and its point will be repeated often enough that everyone in the group will recognize it.

Ask students to name some myths that are told in their family, school, ethnic group, or nation. What do these myths suggest about the values of the group who tells the story?

2. Explain that students will be working on some questions related to myths and the American West. Distribute Handout 10-1. Assign students to work on the questions in pairs and stop to share answers periodically. You may need to assign some questions for homework and return to the discussion on the following day.

3. If appropriate for your class, consider using Campbell's myth cycle (Handout 10-2) or "The Mythic West" chart (Handout 10-3). Each will require students to do some outside reading or research. To introduce Campbell's myth cycle, you might ask students to return to the list of

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western novels and films they generated on Handout 10-1. Can they identify any common patterns in terms of the adventures experienced by the heroes of the novels or films? Use their responses as a way of introducing Campbell's myth cycle. An optional activity for the Campbell material is to have students research famous westerners and shape or exaggerate their biographies until they become mythic. (In fact, they'll discover that this has already been done in many cases.) Have students present their material in brief speeches shared with the class.

4. To conclude the lesson, distribute Handout 10-4 and have students use the questions provided on the handout to create their own personal myths.

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Myth and Reality:
Why Stories Are Shaped into Mythic Patterns

1. List some of the western novels you have read or western movies you have seen. What values or lessons are taught by these films or stories?

2. According to one historian, the West in the 19th century was not nearly as violent as portrayals, particularly in films, have indicated. Such "outlaws" as Billy the Kid, who was reputed to have killed 21 people by the time he was 21, were in fact overrated as killers; historians believe Billy had only killed three to six people—still a considerable number, but far below the advertised total. In the deadliest year in Tombstone—renowned as the home of the shoot-out at the OK Corral—only five people were killed.

   Why do you think our images of the West involve more violence than can be documented? Speculate about why mythic treatment of the West exaggerates violence.

3. In what ways could the myth of the American West be damaging? Whose values and traditions have been omitted from the myth of the American West? Is this important? Explain your answer.

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4. Speculate about why myth set in the American West in the 19th century is so interesting to people from other cultures and from other parts of the United States. Why is it so compelling and enduring?

5. Can you see ways in which more recent westerm films and novels reflect slightly different values than those written or filmed during earlier decades? What changes in American culture might help explain these changes in the stories told about the West?

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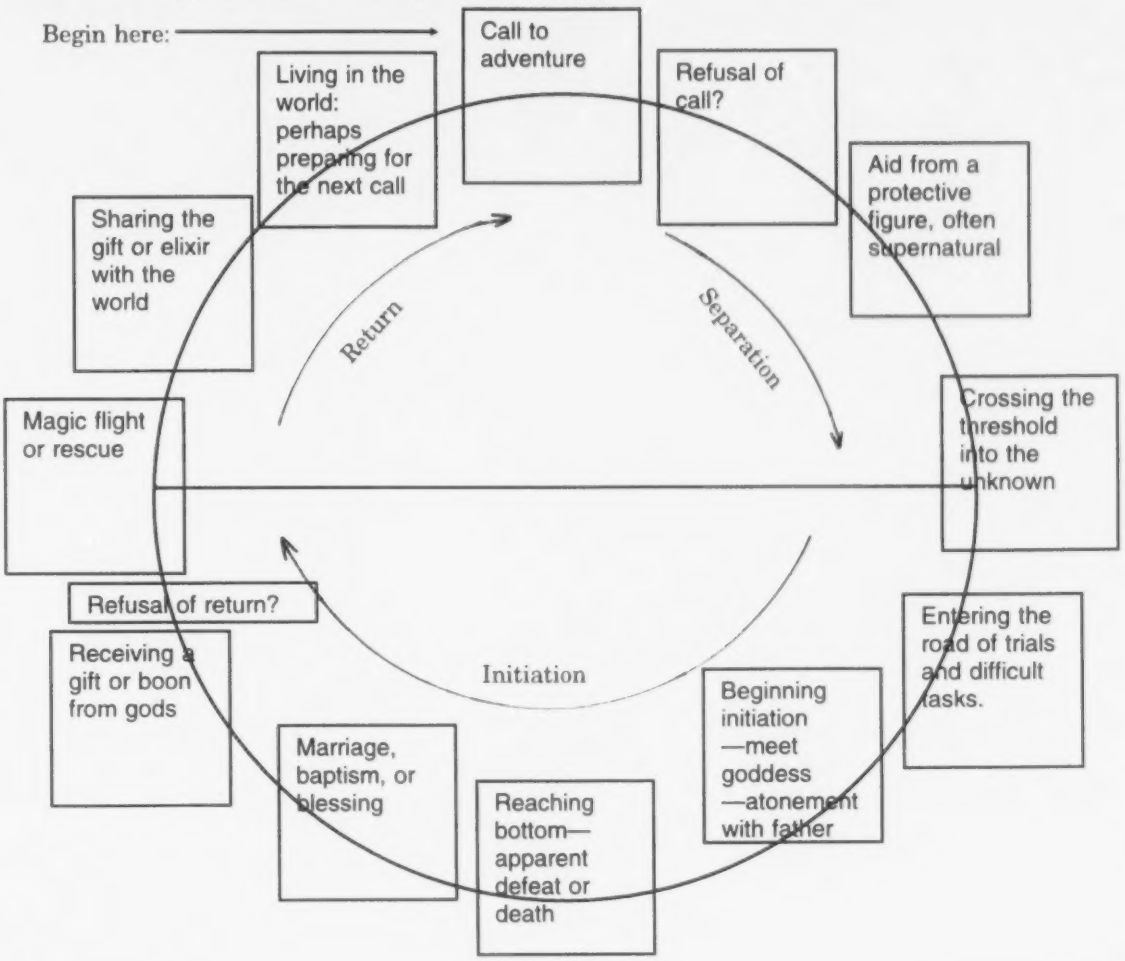
The Myth Cycle

According to Joseph Campbell, the late expert on myths, the primary function of myths is "to supply the symbols that carry the human spirit forward..." That function can be seen in Campbell's myth cycle, the pattern of the adventures experienced by mythic heroes. Heroes, people with special talents or gifts, first **separate** from the world, departing from their everyday life patterns. Next, the hero has an **initiation** into a source of power, experiencing trials and victories. Finally, the hero **returns** to society, bringing to it the powers gained through the mythic adventure. In reintegrating into society, the hero may be either honored or rejected by others.

The three main stages in the cycle can be broken down into smaller steps, as shown in the diagram below. Study the diagram, thinking about the steps and the ways in which they might apply to a myth of the American West that you have read. Then complete a diagram showing which of the stages the hero in the myth went through.


Begin here:
Call to adventure
Refusal of call?
Aid from a protective figure, often supernatural
Crossing the threshold into the unknown
Entering the road of trials and difficult tasks.
Beginning initiation —meet goddess —atonement with father
Reaching bottom— apparent defeat or death
Marriage, baptism, or blessing
Receiving a gift or boon from gods
Refusal of return?
Magic flight or rescue
Sharing the gift or elixir with the world
Living in the world: perhaps preparing for the next call
Separation
Initiation
Return

Source: Adapted from Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968).

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The Mythic West: The Shape of Cultural Lessons

In the library, find copies of the Mayan myth of the Feathered Serpent and the Cheyenne Great Medicine myth. Read these myths. Use the chart below to compare the two stories with the myth of the American West as developed by Frederick Jackson Turner. How are the stories similar? What common elements do they share? How are they different.

	Feathered Serpent (Mayan)	**Great Medicine (Cheyenne)**	**Significance of the Frontier (Frederick Jackson Turner)**
Did this story have a hero (or Supreme Being)? If so, who was it? What was its heroic characteristic?			
What did the hero endure or accomplish? What is learned or shared with the society?			
What aspect of life is emplained by this story? What behavior and values are taught?			

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Heroes

1. What are the qualities of a hero? Rank the qualities in order of importance, with 1 being most important.

2. What task or quest do you want to accomplish in your life?

3. What qualities do you already have that can make you the hero of your own life?

4. What qualities do you need to develop in order to accomplish your quest?

5. What kinds of outside aid can you reasonably expect to receive? What do you need to do to assure this aid?

6. What are the outcomes or benefits of your quest?

7. Write a mythic story in which you are the hero who succeeds at the quest you have outlined above. Be sure your story teaches about the values of a group to which you belong.

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11. DISCOVERING THE CONVENTIONS OF WESTERN FILM

Introduction:

Students know more about the conventions of western film than they realize. They know what they can reasonably expect to find in a western, but they're also ready to be interested by some new twist, some "invention" that challenges their expectations. In films, they may not be conscious of the details that go into creating the effects that are seen. This lesson is designed to help students analyze conventions and inventions in film and become aware of how camera angles support conventions in film.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Define and interpret the terms *convention* and *invention* in the context of western film.

2. Analyze film for examples of these forms.

3. Understand the process whereby inventions become conventions.

4. Explain how camera angles influence viewers' responses.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods (in addition to earlier class periods spent discussing western films, novels, or stories)

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 11-1 and 11-2 (optional) for all students. If you plan to use Handout 11-2, you will probably need a VCR, monitor, and film for viewing, as well as 3 x 5 cards. If you want to introduce the camera work terms using clips from *Shane*, you will also need a copy of the video.

Procedure:

1. Distribute Handout 11-1. Discuss the quote at the top of the handout, making sure that students understand the terms used, including convention, invention, commonly known metaphors, and linguistic devices. Use the questions below to give students some insight into why understanding conventions and inventions is important:

- Why is it useful to be able to identify conventions and inventions in films (and in literature)?
- Do you think that a film director should rely on conventions? How does the use of conventions help the director and/or audience? (It helps director convey an idea to the audience very easily.) In what ways could use of conventions keep a film director from achieving his/her intent? (Overuse of conventions could lead the audience to dismiss the story as trite, predictable, or stereotypical.)
- How would the use of inventions affect the audience?

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Kevin Discher, Garber High School, Essexville, Michigan.

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2. Use the chalkboard to list the titles of works students may consider for analysis. These might be films the group has studied together. Another approach would be to let groups form around films students have seen outside of class.

3. Have groups spend about ten minutes on each of three titles, listing conventions and inventions. Have groups spend 5-10 minutes highlighting repeated terms, elements, or ideas. Debrief with the entire class.

4. If you want to extend the lesson by using Handout 11-2, distribute it and have students return to their groups. Unless students have very recently seen a particular film, this activity will be more successful if you have a film available for their analysis. This handout could also be completed as homework. An optional way of introducing the camera work terms is to use clips from *Shane* to illustrate each terms. Appropriate scenes from the film are:

- Angle: the scene when Shane is buying a bottle of soda pop. The angle is on Shane, although Chris and the Bartender are also seen.
- Close-up: the scene in which Joey's eyes are huge because of Shane's awesome shooting skills.
- Cut-to: the scene in which the camera cuts from the barroom brawl to the people in the store and back again several times.
- Dissolve: the scene in which Joey is watching Shane approach from the distance.
- Fade: the closing scene in which Shane rides off and when he is out of sight, the screen goes to black.
- Long shot: the opening clip with Shane set against the mountain (Tetons) backdrop.
- Two shot: the scene in the bedroom in which Joey and Marion are talking about not getting to like Shane too much.
- Offstage: the scene in which Marion, Shane, and Joe are having a serious discussion in which Joey's voice can be heard saying "Bang! Bang!"
- Pan: the barroom brawl.
- POV: the scene in which Joe watches Fletcher and his goons ride up to the homestead.
- Pullback: the scene in which the homesteaders are discussing their next move; when Shane walks in, the angle is widened to include him.
- Establishing shot: the scene in which the kitchen is shown before Joe and Shane enter.

(No examples are provided for voiceover, exterior, and interior, which can be discussed with students.)

After seeing these clips, students could be encouraged to watch one-half hour of television and record as many examples of the camera shots discussed as they can find. After conducting this analysis, students should consider why particular shots were used. How did the camera work influence the viewer's attitude toward a character or an action?

Extension/Enrichment:

When you move on to a new unit, have the class discuss these terms with respect to a different genre or subject matter. How do the conventions in other films compare to those in westerns? What is the significance of the similarities and differences students note?

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Convention and Invention in the Western

All cultural products contain a mixture of two elements: conventions and inventions. Conventions are elements which are known to both the creator and his audience beforehand—they consist of things like favorite plots, stereotyped characters, accepted ideas, commonly known metaphors and other linguistic devices, etc. Inventions, on the other hand, are elements which are uniquely imagined by the creator such as new kinds of characters, ideas, or linguistic forms. Of course it is difficult to distinguish in every case between conventions and inventions because many elements lie somewhere along a continuum between the two poles. Nonetheless, familiarity with a group of literary works will usually soon reveal what the major conventions are and, therefore, what elements are unique to an individual work.

John G. Cawelti, *The Six-Gun Mystique*

1. Use one sheet of paper for each of three films and/or stories. Write the title of the work you're analyzing at the top of the paper. Then, divide the paper into two columns and label one **CONVENTIONS** and the other **INVENTIONS**. List everything you can think of from the work under one of the headings. Be sure to consider all aspects of setting and set design, characters, costumes, dialogue, plot, and theme.

2. Using a highlighter, highlight any terms or ideas that occur on two or more sheets. Consider how something could still be a convention if you found it in only one film. Could something be an invention if you found it in more than one film or story? How often must an invention be used before it becomes a convention? Can you think of any examples of inventions that have become conventions?

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How Camera Work Influences Visual Meaning

The dialogue provides only half (and sometimes less!) of the meaning of a film, play, or television production. Visuals such as costume, facial expression, and action contribute to the meaning. When the character in the black hat says something pleasant in a sarcastic tone, for example, the audience becomes suspicious of his sincerity.

Camera work is a subtle but important way that a filmmaker adds meaning to the work. If the camera lingers on the face of a seemingly minor character, we are prepared for her to turn up later in the film in some key scene. Close-ups, even zoom-ins, of certain objects such as a diary, a Bible, or a gun, indicate ideas about characters.

1. In your small group, consider the attached list of camera work terms. Give at least two examples of when and why each technique might be used.

2. Select a five- to ten-minute section of the film you're studying. Storyboard this section; that is, make a 3 x 5 card for *every* new camera shot within the section you're working on. Use stick figures to indicate characters, and write camera terms at the bottom of the card. (For example, "fade in to long shot of Rocky Mountains.") Be sure to number the cards to show the order of the scenes. Tape the cards to the wall of your classroom.

3. Storyboard the same section of the same film, using *your* ideas of how to film the story. When finished, tape your cards beneath the set you made in step 2. How is the meaning of your film different from that of the original? Is one version better, or are they merely different? Speculate on why the filmmaker selected the shots used in the original. In what ways does the camera work indicate the filmmaker's interpretation of the work?

4. How does camera work support the mythic lesson of western films?

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Terminology of Camera Work

ANGLE—Camera position used to highlight a dramatic scene.

CLOSE-UP—Camera singles out one character or a significant object for a reaction or emphasis.

CUT-TO—Changing from one scene to another without using a fade or a dissolve.

DISSOLVE—Fading out on one scene and focusing up into another without going to black.

FADE—Fading from the scene to black (fade out) or vice versa (fade in).

LONG SHOT—Scene photographed from a distance; often used to capture a panoramic view.

TWO SHOT—Camera shot that includes two characters.

OFFSTAGE—Dialogue that is spoken by someone off camera.

PAN—The camera, though remaining stationary, swings in an arc from one object to another or to follow the action of a moving character.

POV—Point of view. The camera acts as the eyes of the character, so that the viewer sees what the character sees.

PULLBACK—Moving the camera back from a close-up of one detail of a particular scene to reveal more of the action in that scene.

VOICEOVER—A voice heard over the visuals, usually that of a narrator.

EXTERIOR—A scene shot out of doors.

INTERIOR—A scene shot indoors.

ESTABLISHING SHOT—A shot that lets the viewer know where the succeeding action and dialogue take place.

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12. ELEMENTS OF A GOOD WESTERN

Introduction:

In this lesson, students are introduced to the 16 elements of the narrative model of the western, identifying the elements in a western novel, such as *Shane*. They then apply their understanding by creating their own western narratives.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Identify 16 elements of the narrative model of the western in a specific western novel.

2. Create their own western narratives including the 16 elements.

Time Required: 2 class periods plus out of class time for reading the novel and creating the western narratives

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 12-1 and 12-2 for all students; if you plan to use the extension activity, you will also need copies of Handout 12-3. Students will need copies of the novel you select for analysis; *Shane*, by Jack Schaefer, is one example that works well for the purposes of this lesson.

Procedure:

1. When students have read the novel, distribute Handouts 12-1 and discuss the 16 narrative elements as they apply to the novel you selected.

2. Encourage students to apply the elements to other western novels they have read or films they have seen.

3. Divide the class into pairs. Distribute Handout 12-2 and explain that students are to follow the directions on the handout in creating their own western narratives. If you teach in the western United States, you may want to require that students choose a topic and setting specific to your state or area.

4. When students have completed their stories, have them share their work in groups of six. Students should provide feedback on how well the narratives incorporate the 16 elements from Handout 12-1.

Extension/Enrichment:

As an extension activity, or an as alternative to step 4 of the **Procedure,** use Handout 12-3 to have students rework a film with a contemporary setting to be appropriate for a 19th-century western setting.

Developed by Susan Schulte, Whitewater (MT) Public Schools.

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Narrative Structure of the Classical Western

The narrative model of the Western* includes 16 elements:

1. The hero enters a social group.
2. The hero is unknown to the society.
3. The hero is revealed to have an exceptional ability.
4. The society recognizes a difference between themselves and the hero; the hero is given a special status.
5. The society does not completely accept the hero.
6. There is a conflict of interests between the villains and the society.
7. The villains are stronger than the society; the society is weak.
8. There is a strong friendship or respect between the hero and a villain.
9. The villains threaten the society.
10. The hero avoids involvement in the conflict.
11. The villains endangers a friend of the hero.
12. The hero fights the villains.
13. The hero defeats the villains.
14. The society is safe.
15. The society accepts the hero.
16. The hero loses or gives up his special status.

Use this formula to analyze the novel we read. For each of the 16 elements, indicate the names of characters and the specific action that fits the element. A few elements may be missing, but you should locate most of them in the book we studied.

*From Will Wright, *Sixguns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

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Creating Your Own Western

Use the elements from Handout 12-1 to create a "modern" Western. Select a modern Western "conflict of interest," such as mining, water, land use, logging, etc. Decide which side of that conflict you'll represent as "society" and which as "villains." Your hero's "exceptional ability" (element 3) must pertain to modern society and the problem. (Gunslinger is more likely to be seen as "mass murderer" in contemporary society.) Write out, as specifically as you can, each element.

Write a short story using the elements you have listed, or create a shooting script for a film of your narrative. Your script does not need to include the dialogue, but it should specify the following:

- Cast your film, using current actors. Tell why you selected the actors you did.
- Decide on set design and/or shooting locations.
- Decide on music for the sound track.
- Decide on costumes and/or wardrobe for major actors.

Create a poster/newspaper ad *or* a tie-in product line *or* a video preview for your film.

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How Important Is Setting?

1. Select a modern film and give a brief plot summary.

2. Now, revise the film summary in order to set it in the western United States in the 19th century. Indicate the date you select for your setting: _____.

3. In what ways will the plot outline need to be changed in order to portray accurate professions and relationships?

4. Which aspects of technology will need to be changed? Use general encyclopedias, *Encyclopedia of Science and Technology*, or other sources to document when types of vehicles, kinds of guns, etc., become widely available.

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5. Discuss locations you'll use to make your film. How will these locations change the meaning from the original film? How important is this change of setting?

6. Assume that the same actors play the revision of their original roles. Does anyone seem miscast in the new version? Explain and then suggest an actor who might be better for the role in your new version.

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13. BLESS ME, ULTIMA

Introduction:

Bless Me, Ultima is a "coming of age" novel (sometimes termed a *bilungsroman*), a genre of fiction that deals with a character's movement from childhood to adolescence and on to adulthood. The novel is also about the conflict of cultures and how that conflict affects the children growing up within them. Tony's father represents the *vaquero* ranching tradition of the high plains, his mother the farming tradition of the river valleys—conflicting cultural strains within Chicano culture in mid-20th century New Mexico. Another cultural conflict in the story is conflict of religious beliefs. Through reading and discussion of *Bless Me, Ultima*, students can explore these conflicts and their implications for understanding the American West.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Define the term *coming of age novel*.

2. Identify cultural conflicts experienced by the book's central character and relate those conflicts to conflicts throughout western history.

3. Describe the symbolic use of nature in a western coming of age novel.

Time Required: 2-3 class periods plus time to read the 262-page novel

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of *Bless Me, Ultima*, by Rudolfo Anaya (New York: Warner Books, 1972) for all students. You may want to post the four assignments in step 2 of the **Procedure** on the chalkboard.

Procedure:

1. Write the phrase "coming of age novel" on the chalkboard and ask students what they think it means. Lead the class in developing a definition. Encourage students to list coming of age novels they have read (*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *To Kill a Mockingbird* are two well-known examples).

2. Introduce *Bless Me, Ultima* as a coming of age novel set in the West in the mid-20th century. Divide the class into four groups, assigning students in each group one of the following tasks to complete while reading the book:

- List all the people in Tony's family who had an influence on him and note for each person what that influence was.
- List all of the people outside the family, such as teachers, who had an influence on Tony and note for each person what that influence was.
- Draw a timeline for Tony's life from birth to the end of the novel, including the events you consider most important. Be prepared to defend why you included or omitted particular events.
- Make a chart that contrasts the values and lifestyles of the high plains and valley cultures.

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Allow some time while students are reading the book for groups to meet and compare their work.

3. Ask the first three groups to report on their findings. Use their work as the basis for a discussion of the following questions:

- Which events and influences seem particular to western life and Chicano culture?
- Which events might have been shared by young people throughout the United States who were growing up in the 1940s and '50s?
- Make a generalization about how the traditions and history of the West might influence a child growing up in Tony's era and a child growing up today. Would the generalization apply equally well to children growing up in the urban West? Why or why not?

4. Turn students' attention to the conflict of cultures dealt with in the novel, beginning with the fourth group's report on their work. Follow up with discussion of such questions as:

- How does Anaya use the setting to help the reader understand the culltural conflicts in the story? How does he describe the plains and valleys? What do they appear to symbolize?
- How does Tony's family pull him into the two conflicting ways of life? How does he deal with this clash of cultures in his own family? How does he eventually resolve the conflict?

5. With the class, list cultural conflicts in western history and in the contemporary West. In what ways are these conflicts enactments of the cultural conflicts faced by Tony? Can the class draw any generalizations about how people resolve conflict, both in the novel and in western experience?

6. Point out that another cultural conflict addressed by the novel is that of religious experience and belief. Discuss this conflict using the following questions:

- Contrast traditional Catholicism, the folk beliefs surrounding Ultima, and the mythology offered by the Golden Carp story. Again, discuss the problems these conflicting world views cause for Tony and the ways he finds to revolve these conflicts.
- List at least three examples in the western experience of conflict of world view, the difficulties this has caused, and the manner in which the conflict was resolved. Is it possible for competing world views to coexist or must one dominate in order for a culture to function?

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IV.

VARIABLES OF CULTURE

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14. THE BALLAD OF GREGORIO CORTEZ: CULTURAL CONFLICT AND MISUNDERSTANDING

Introduction:

Much conflict in the Western experience was the result of stereotyping, cultural misunderstanding, and miscommunication. This lesson, which employs the film, song, and history of Gregorio Cortez, should lead to further insight about the roots of cultural conflict and, perhaps, about how such conflict might be avoided in the present.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Recount the story of Gregorio Cortez.

2. Consider issues of justice for minority groups under an Anglo-dominated court system.

3. Describe the *corrido* ballad as a literary and musical genre.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 14-1, 14-2, and 14-3 for all students; obtain the video (optional) of *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* distributed by Embassy Home Entertainment, 1901 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, CA 90067 (VHS 2062 Drama) but available at many video stores. Locate the two clips from the film described in the **Procedure** so they can be quickly cued up in class.

Procedure:

1. Briefly discuss the role that ballads play in American culture. Students will probably be familiar with Davy Crockett as an American hero of cultural conflict popularized through song. Explain that Mexican immigrants have used a similar ballad form (the *corrido*) to describe their experience and their heroes on the "U.S. frontier." Explain that the most famous of the Mexican heroes popularized through song is Gregorio Cortez. Provide students with an historical perspective on this Mexican cultural hero using Handout 14-1.

2. Pass out Handout 14-2, and read the *corrido* with students. You may want to point out that this is just one of many versions of the *corrido*. Some have been written to rhyme in English; this version has been more directly translated. Discuss the following questions with the class: To whom was Cortez a hero? What did Mexicans admire about him? Based on the background information, what information about Cortez is emphasized in the *corrido*? What is left out? Do the Mexicans feel that the U.S. system provides justice for Mexicans?

3. If using the movie, *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez*, show at least two clips: the incident that resulted in Cortez killing Sheriff Morris and a segment of the trial that follows. Prepare students to carefully listen for the misunderstanding that occurs when Sheriff Morris' deputy incorrectly translates Cortez' comments for the sheriff. Structure a viewing assignment with selected items from the viewing guide on Handout 14-3.

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4. To conclude the lesson, have students compare song, history, and film. How are they similar or different in their presentation of Gregorio Cortez as a hero? How is Gregorio Cortez similar to or different from Davy Crockett as a hero?

Extension/Enrichment:

Have students listen to popular ballads on country western or Spanish language radio stations. If possible, employ bilingual students as well as foreign language students and teachers to translate Mexican ballads. Each group of students should select one ballad and analyze it both from a literary point of view (rhyme scheme, etc.) and a thematic point of view (what does the ballad protest? What values does it espouse?).

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Background Information on Gregorio Cortez

Gregorio Cortez was 12 years old when he emigrated to Texas in 1887. He lived with his brother, who had been in the United States for several years. At age 15 or 16, Gregorio married Leonor Diaz. By 1901, he had four children and was farming with his brother in Karnes County. The two had a good crop and were looking forward to their first harvest.

On June 13, 1901, Sheriff W.T. Brock Morris came to the Cortez home looking for a Mexican who had stolen a horse. A deputy translated as Morris asked Cortez and his brother questions. Because the deputy wrongly translated one of the answers, the sheriff mistakenly thought Cortez was defying his authority. Much confusion was caused by the fact that Cortez spoke only Spanish, Morris spoke only English, and the deputy's translation was inaccurate. In Spanish there are separate words for stallion (*el calbello*) and mare (*la yegua*). Sheriff Morris ordered his men to arrest the Cortez brothers. In the ensuing fight, Morris shot and killed Gregorio's brother; Gregorio then killed the sheriff.

Cortez fled, trying to escape to Mexico. On June 16, he killed Sheriff Glover, leader of a posse trying to apprehend him. Finally, a man named Jesus Gonzales tipped the Texas Rangers to where Cortez was hiding and he was arrested.

The *San Antonio Express* described Cortez as "tall, slender, and lithe, with the lean muscular appearance of one who has passed through a trying ordeal. His shoulders are slightly stooped. His hands and feet are small and well shaped. His head is large and of good shape. It is covered with hair, of which any society 'exquisite' might be envious—black as night and tumbling with black curls all over his head...he was easy in his manner and showed no embarrassment...it was apparent that Cortez understood English, and later demonstrated that he could speak it...he cooly proceeded to give the officers a detailed statement." Dignified and self-confident, he remained unshaken "even before the majesty of the law." The paper also reported that "he possessed remarkable powers of endurance and skill in eluding pursuit."

In his first trial, a jury found that Cortez had killed Sheriff Morris in self-defense. In a second trial, Cortez was given a life sentence in prison for killing Sheriff Glover.

Cortez's wife Leonor, who had been jailed upon her husband's arrest, stayed in the area with her children. She could not afford to move elsewhere. She fed her children by doing laundry for families, many of whom hated her husband and hoped to see him hang.

Governor Oscar B. Colquitt pardoned Cortez in 1913. Upon receiving his freedom, Cortez moved to Nuevo Laredo and fought against the Mexican Revolutionaries. After being wounded in a skirmish against a revolutionary band, he returned to Texas to recuperate. He died in 1916 at the age of 41.

El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez, written before his pardon, was handed down and rewritten over time.

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Discussion Questions

1. Describe the initial crime and the cultural conflict that led Cortez to shoot Sheriff Morris.

2. What kind of person was Gregorio Cortez? How do you think his personality entered into his treatment in the justice system? Is ethnicity an element in determining whether or not justice is granted?

3. Did Cortez receive fair treatment in the justice system? How do the Anglo and Mexican communities see the problem differently?

4. What do you know about Cortez from this reading that would contribute to his status as a folk hero?

5. What is the role of poor communication or mistranslation in this conflict? Is this still an aspect of cultural conflict today? What strategies could be designed to avoid it?

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El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez

1
En el condado de Carnes
miren lo que ha sucedido,
murió el Cherife Mayor
quedando Román herido.

In the county of Karnes,
Look what has happened;
The Major sheriff died,
Leaving Román badly wounded.

2
Serían las dos de la tarde
cuando la gente llegó,
unos a los otros dicen:
—No saben quién lo mató.

It must have been two in the afternoon
When people arrived;
They said to one another,
"It is not known who killed him."

3
Se anduvieron informando
como media hora después,
supieron que el malhechor
era Gregorio Cortez

They went around asking questions
About half an hour afterward,
They found that the wrongdoer
Had been Gregorio Cortez.

4
Ya insortaron a Cortez
por toditito el estado,
que vivo o muerto se aprehenda
porque a varios ha matado.

Now they have outlawed Cortez,
Throughout the whole state;
Let him be taken, dead or alive;
He has killed several men.

5
Decía Gregorio Cortez
con su pistola en la mano:
—No siento haberlo matado,
lo que siento es a mi hermano.

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
With his pistol in his hand,
"I don't regret that I killed him;
I regret my brother's death."

6
Decía Gregorio Cortez
con su alma muy encendida:
—No siento haberlo matado,
la defensa es permitida.

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
And his soul was all aflame,
"I don't regret that I killed him;
A man must defend himself."

7
Venían los americanos
más blancos que una paloma,
de miedo que le tenían
a Cortez y a su pistola.

The Americans were coming,
They were whiter than a dove,
From the fear that they had
Of Cortez and of his pistol.

8
Decían los americanos,
decían con timidez:
—Vamos a sequir la huella
que el malhechor es Cortez.

Then the Americans said,
Then they said fearfully,
"Come, let us follow the trail;
The wrongdoer is Cortez."

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9
Le echaron los perros jaunes
pa' que siguieran la huella,
pero alcanzar a Cortez
era seguir a una estrella.

They set the bloodhounds on him,
So they could follow his trail,
But trying to overtake Cortez
Was like following a star.

10
Tiró con rumbo a Gonzales
sin ninguna timidez:
—Síganme rinches cobardes,
yo soy Gregorio Cortez.

He struck out for Gonzales
Without showing any fear,
"Follow me, cowardly rangers,
I am Gregorio Cortez."

11
Se fué de Belmont al rancho,
lo alcanzaron a rodear,
poquitos más de trescientos,
y allí les brincó el corral.

From Belmont he went to the ranch,
They succeeded in surrounding him,
Quite a few more than three hundred,
But there he jumped their corral.

12
Cuando les brincó el corral,
según lo que aquí se dice,
se agarraron a balazos
y les mató otro cherife.

When he jumped their corral,
According to what we hear,
They got into a gunfight,
And he killed them another sheriff.

13
Decía Gregorio Cortez
con su pistola en la mano:
—No corran, rinches cobardes,
con un solo mexicano.

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
With his pistol in his hand,
"Don't run, you cowardly rangers,
From just one Mexican."

14
Salió Gregorio Cortez,
salió con rumbo a Laredo,
no lo quisieron seguir
porque le tuvieron miedo.

Gregorio Cortez went out,
He went toward Laredo
They decided not to follow
Because they were afraid of him.

15
Decía Gregorio Cortez:
—¿Pa' qué se valen de planes?
No me pueden agarrar
ni con esos perros juanes.

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
"What is the use of your scheming?
You cannot catch me,
Even with those bloodhounds."

16
Decían los americanos
—Si lo alcanzamos ¿qué haremos?
Si le entramos por derecho
muy poquitos volveremos.

Then the Americans said,
"If we catch up with him, what shall we do?
If we fight him man to man,
Very few of us will return."

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17
Allá por El Encinal
según lo que aquí se dice,
le formaron un corral
y les mató otro chirife.

Over by El Encinal,
According to what we hear,
They made him a corral,
And he killed them another sheriff.

18
Decía Gregorio Cortez
echando muchos balazos:
—Me he escapado de aguaceros,
contimás de nublinazos.

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
Shooting out a lot of bullets,
"I have weathered thunderstorms;
This little mist doesn't bother me."

19
Ya se encontró a un mexicano,
le dice con altivez:
—Platícame qué hay de nuevo,
yo soy Gregorio Cortez.

Now he has met a Mexican;
He said to him haughtily,
"Tell me the news;
I am Gregorio Cortez."

20
—Dicen que por culpa mía
han matado mucha gente,
ya me voy a presentar
porque eso no es conveniente.

"It is said that because of me
Many people have been killed;
I will surrender now
Because such things are not right."

21
Cortez le dice a Jesús:
—Ora sí lo vas a ver,
anda diles a los rinches
que ve vengan a aprehender.

Cortez says to Jesús,
"At last you are going to see it;
Go tell the rangers
To come and arrest me."

22
Venían todos los rinches,
venían que hasta volaban
porque se iban a ganar
los mil pesos que les daban.

All the rangers were coming,
Coming so fast they even flew,
For they wanted to get
The thousand dollars they were offered.

23
Cuando rodearon la casa
Cortez se les presentó:
—Por la buena sí me llevan
porque de otro modo no.

When they surrounded the house,
Cortez suddenly appeared before them,
"You will take me if I'm willing,
But not any other way."

24
Decía el Cherife Mayor
como queriendo llorar:
—Cortez entrega tus armas,
no te vamos a matar.

Then the Major Sheriff said,
As if he was going to cry,
"Cortez, hand over your weapons
We are not going to kill you."

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25
Decía Gregorio Cortez,
les gritaba en alta voz:
—Mis armas no las entrego
hasta estar en calaboz'.

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
Shouting to them in a loud voice,
"I won't surrender my arms
Until I am in a cell."

26
Decí Gregorio Cortez,
decía en su voz divina,
—Mis armas no las entrego
hasta estar en bartolina.

Then said Gregorio Cortez,
He said in his godly voice,
"I won't surrender my arms
Until I'm inside a jail."

27
Ya agarraron a Cortez,
ya terminó la cuestión,
la pobre de su familia
lo lleva en el corazón.

Now they have taken Cortez,
Now matters are at an end:
His poor family
Are suffering in their hearts.

28
Ya con ésta me despido
a la sombra de un ciprés,
aquí se acaba cantando
el corrido de Cortez.

Now with this I say farewell,
In the shade of a cypress tree;
This is the end of the singing
Of the ballad of Cortez.

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Film Viewing Guide
Ballad of Gregorio Cortez

1. As you view the film, what evidence do you see of Anglo stereotypes about Mexicans? What evidence of Mexican stereotypes about the Texas Rangers? What evidence is there that the Anglos and Mexicans distrust each other? What stereotypes contributed to this mistrust? What risks were taken by people who did not subscribe to the stereotypes? Without stereotypes, how might the incident have turned out differently?

2. Compare the movie with the "historical Cortez" and the ballad version. How are the sources contradictory? complementary?

3. Prepare reports on the conflict from the viewpoints of Anglo and Hispanic newspapers.

4. Take one of the primary characters of the courtroom and describe what takes place from his/her point of view. Compare the judicial process with a modern courtroom. How is the Cortez trial similar to or different from what might happen today?

5. Take the role of one of the men chasing Gregorio and explain his sentiments. Why were you chasing him? How do you justify your actions? Do similar questions of justice arise today? What responsibility does a police force have for tempering emotions and stereotypes that officers may have?

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15. MARY AUSTIN'S "THE CASTRO BABY": INTERETHNIC COOPERATION IN THE 19TH-CENTURY WEST

Introduction:

Although conflict between various ethnic groups is part of the story of the West, so is cooperation among groups. In this lesson, students examine a short story and then imagine another story of cooperation.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Answer questions regarding "The Castro Baby."

2. Discuss why conflict is more common than cooperation in short story plots.

3. Construct an outline of another story about cooperation, demonstrating an understanding of plot, characterization, setting, and theme.

Time Required: 2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 15-1 through 15-4 for all students.

Procedure:

1. Have students read the story (Handout 15-1) and write out answers to the discussion questions (Handout 15-2), either individually or in small groups. Lead a discussion about the story, beginning with the discussion questions but moving toward the idea that conflict is central to the plot of most films and stories because it presents more plot possibilities. Talk about our own conversations and how relatively seldom we talk about how we cooperate. Have students brainstorm the titles of movies or novels whose plots focus on cooperation.

2. Discuss Limerick's "Cheery Quotations" (Handout 15-3) as examples of historical evidence of western cooperation among ethnic groups.

3. Assign one quotation to each small group. Have the group fill out the story outline worksheet (Handout 15-4) for the assigned quotation.

4. Have each group present its work to the whole class. Discuss which outlines are likely to make an interesting story when completed. What suggestions does the class have?

Extension/Enrichment:

Have each student write the story or a scene of the story outlined. Compare stories that came from the same outline. In what ways are they different? (This would work well as a homework assignment.)

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The Castro Baby

First published in the Black Cat *in March 1899, "The Castro Baby" presents a slice of western life, the bazaar of a small western town. Maverick, Austin suggests, was once appropriately named, but as the events of her story show, the town is now a place where diverse people come together with compassion for others. Although Austin often criticized the narrowness of religious practices in small towns, the religious revival in Maverick does not seem to have affected the townspeople's sympathy for those with other religions. Although Miss McCracken's comments imply there are cultural divisions in town, the story suggests that Hispanics and whites, Catholics and revivalists, can empathize with each other. Even Miss McCracken learns her lesson.*

"The Castro Baby" is the type of story usually described as "sentimental." Perhaps so. But Austin knew how many women lost babies, and she know how women responded to each others' losses.

* * * * *

The sun climbing to its meridian above Little Long Valley on a certain Fourth of July, saw all the population of Maverick passing between the swinging doors of Sidney McLean's saloon.

The male population of Maverick usually gravitated in that direction in all seasons; in fact, a considerable number of them might be fairly said to live there; but even in its most prosperous days the Spread Eagle had never known such a pervasive air of feminine flutter and fashion, an air that the capacities of mail-order shopping makes possible even in Maverick.

The womenkind of Little Long Valley were not disposed to look favorably on the Spread Eagle. They were even known to view it with open hostility, and to account its inducements to idling and money-spending as only partially compensated for by the personal good qualities of its proprietor. To-day, however, there was in the bustle of coming and going, in the bunting that displayed itself about the front door, in the crescendo buzz of conversation and the rattle of knives and forks that issued from it, evidences that nowhere in the world could be mistaken for anything else than a fancy bazar.

The fact is, Maverick was undergoing a revival of religion. Maverick was accustomed to take its experiences of whatever kind spasmodically. It had lived through two mining excitements and a real-estate boom, and was still very far from learning moderation. The first excitement had given Maverick a definite location and a name, the second had built the Spread Eagle, which was originally a dance hall, and the land boom had built the railroad to within four miles of the town, where it had become discouraged and turned away into the fastnesses of the Nevada hills.

Now the revival of religion was responsible for the fancy bazar in Sidney McLean's saloon, because the Reverend Aaron Frear had decided to include Maverick in his fifty-mile circuit, a church edifice was needed, and the townspeople felt that they must rise to the occasion. The question of ways and means had crystallized around the idea of a bazar, where it had halted for some time in a nebulous state, for want of suitable quarters in which to materialize.

Source: *Western Trails: A Collection of Short Stories* by Mary Austin, selected by Melody Graulich (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987), pp. 223-227.

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Then it was that Sidney McLean came forward with an offer of the Spread Eagle which, having been built in boom days, was sufficiently capacious. What the Reverend Aaron thought of this is not recorded—he did not hear of it until it was too late.

So the bazar was an accomplished fact, and that nothing might be lacking of its wonted features a traveling photographer, who had set up his tent on the mesa had offered "a dozen cabinets in our very best style" as a prize for the handsomest baby.

So Maverick had also a baby show, the voting was paid for at the rate of five votes for two bits. Maverick had not accustomed itself to smaller change, but it knew how to divide up and distribute the benefits, and the proceeds of the balloting went to swell the building fund.

It was surprising after all how many people could be gathered into Maverick when there was anything to bring them. There were, first of all, the townspeople, who were not any of them wanting, and a good number of farmers from the river bottom. There were owners of mines and the men who worked them; thirteen from the Reward, twenty from the Eclipse mill and smelter, and all the small and solitary mines among the desolate hills poured out their dwellers to make the great American holiday. There was the station agent's family from Lawton, and the weather bureau man from Black Mountain, and a man from Bodie who expected to be the next candidate for sheriff. Last of all there was Miss Mae McCracken. This should have been mentioned first. Miss McCracken was the operator from Lawton; she was a very lively young lady with a fresh complexion such as is not often seen in the rainless, windy West, and spoke English with what she said was a French accent. Miss McCracken was popularly supposed to be as much of an attraction as the bazar.

There was another woman at Maverick that day who told herself that if she had known of the baby show she would not have come. She was the wife of the owner of the Minnietta, and her husband had sent her down to Maverick for the summer because the doctor had told him if he did not get his wife out of sight of the cliffs of Las Vegas he would soon have no wife. There was a grave at the foot of Las Vegas, a tiny grave that a woman's arm might well cover, dug there because about the Minneitta there was not soil enough to cover the smallest grave. The cliffs of Las Vegas showed white from the mine on the further side of the cañon, and the owner's wife watched them days long with wearying eyes, and could not sleep of nights hearing the coyotes howl and thinking of what lay at the foot of them. When it was moonlight the spectral cliffs were terrible in their loneliness, and when there was no moon the darkness was still more terrible, and one night when her busband had missed her he found her at the foot of Las Vegas covering the grave with her arms. It was then that he sent her to Maverick because she would go no farther. Now she sat and watched the mothers of children, and her heart was very bitter.

The balloting for the prize baby was at its briskest early in the afternoon, with the station agent's plumpest twin in the lead, and a rose-leaf morsel of humanity from the river farm a close second.

The man who expected to be sheriff had distributed his votes impartially among all the candidates and was now trying to tell Miss McCracken that if the prize had only been for the handsomest young lady he could make a close guess at the winner. Miss McCracken had heard something of the same kind a good many times that afternoon and was not particularly attentive.

"Oh, look," she cried; "if there isn't that Castro woman from the Six-Mile house, and she's brought her baby. I do believe she thinks it will take the prize too. Just see the way she has it

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rigged up. Do look, girls. Did you ever!" The girls looked, everybody within hearing of Miss McCracken's contagious giggle looked, to see the little Mexican mother, sitting shy and bewildered against the bunting-draped wall, clad in the thinnest of black cotton dresses, with the shabby rebozo that preserved a lingering tradition of her race. The baby in her lap was pitifully quiet, its tiny, claw-like hands clinging to the mother's and the black eyes in the wasted little face dull with pain as they uneasily blinked, "For all the world like a little brown owl," said Miss McCracken, "but I suppose she thinks it is perfectly lovely."

The baby had on its best frock, and about its thin throat a string of large blue beads that had been the mother's most cherished ornament for years, and to the front of its dress she had pinned a bunch of limp and formless artificial flowers, a part of her wedding finery, carefully preserved. Nobody knew this—the flowers told their own story.

Then a stronger voice took up the tale. "The woman is a fool," said the bluff doctor, who knew all the secret sorrows of Maverick. "A perfect fool! Walked all the way here in the blazing sun just to show off her kid, when it won't live a week at the outside, and she knows it. They're poor, too; Castro was out of work a long time. I told her there was no chance for it. It beats me what brings her here to-day."

But feminine instinct comprehends even that which is beyond the wisdom of doctors.

"Why, she wanted a picture of it and hadn't the money, and then she heard of the baby show. Of course she thinks it is beautiful—and it is, too—" went on Miss McCracken, incoherently, "that is, it would be if it were not so skinny. Anyway, its eyes are perfectly lovely, and I mean to tell her so."

The sobered girl rose from her seat to carry out her intention, and there was a general movement of the women in the same direction, but the woman from the Minnietta had in the meantime quietly crossed over to the Señora Castro.

"Is it your baby?" she asked. The mother nodded, not daring to speak, lest disappointment should overwhelm her, for till now no one had spoken to her.

"She is very pretty," went on the questioner, "what do you call her?"

A thin smile bubbled up and broke across the mother's face.

"Her name is Mary Carmen Mercedes," she said, "but we call her Chiquita."

"Chiquita? That means 'Little One,' does it not?" And the fairer woman smiled back understandingly, as she lifted the child with a thrill of aching remembrance at is feather weight. It passed from hand to hand among the young matrons, while the mother's eyes followed the mite hungrily, as if she begrudged the moments spent out of her arms, though they were numb with the strain of carrying it for hours.

"It is better with me," she said pleadingly, and the women understood, and when she let it go again for a little while to the woman from the Minnietta, they understood that also. Every one knew of the little grave at the foot of Las Vegas.

Women for whom, until then, the Castro family had not existed, went aside from their pursuits to praise and pet the Castro baby, and the mothers of the previously favored candidates,

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who had been on the point of heartburning, met each other carrying ice-cream to the Señora Castro, and smiled. By the middle of the afternoon it was apparent that she would have her photograph. Before the time appointed the balloting was closed, because it was time for the Castro baby to go home, and Mary Carmen Mercedes was declared the winner.

The man who would be sheriff covered himself with glory by the speech he made at the announcement, and Mary Carmen made a royal progress to the photographer's in the carriage that belonged to the station agent's twins.

The fancy bazar in the Spread Eagle saloon was carried out to its least arrangement, and the proceeds were such as to lead the Reverend Frear to add an especial clause of thankfulness to his Sunday morning petition. It had been an unqualified success, and the relaxation which followed was not too overwhelming to prevent all Maverick from turning out in carriages and wagons three days later along the dusty, shadeless road to the Six-Mile house.

The event which called them was its own justification. It was the burial of the Castro baby.

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"The Castro Baby" by Mary Austin

1. Discuss the implication of the name of the town of Maverick.

2. Explain how this story contrasts competition and cooperation. Is this a particularly western theme? Which conditions encourage cooperation?

3. How do the realities of life and death transcend issues of class and ethnicity?

4. Discuss the purpose of the bazaar and the metaphoric meaning of holding it in the saloon.

5. Discuss the characterization. For some characters we have only a one-sentence characterization. Give examples.

6. What point does the story make about the blending of cultures in the West?

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Cheery Quotations
Compiled by Patricia Limerick

When the French come to see us, we shall welcome them, and if they should wish to go to the Spaniards to trade, we will take them there.—Padouca (Apache) chief, in what is now Kansas, to Etienne de Veniard, sieur de Bourgmont, 1724

Milk, boy, girl, key, greeting, I do not know anything, gun powder, tobacco, wine, wheat, corn, hops, apple, eat, spoon, nose, socks, sheep, vodka, fur.—Terms for which the Indian people around Fort Ross, California (Russian colony founded in 1812), used Russian words.

We had...representatives from almost every nation under the sun—two Englishmen, three Yankees, two Scotchmen, two Welshmen, one Irishman, three Frenchmen (two of who were Normans, and the third from Gascony), one Dutchman, one Austrian, two or three Spaniards (from old Spain), half a dozen Spanish Americans and half-breeds, two native Indians from Chile and the island of Chiloe, one Negro, one mulatto, about twenty Italians, from all parts of Italy, as many more Sandwich Islanders, one Tahitian, and one Kanaka from the Marquesas Islands....Amid the Babel of English, Spanish, French, Indian, and Kanaka, we found some words that we could understand in common.—Richard Henry Dana, mid-1830s, San Diego

It is seldom that such a variety of ingredients are found mixed in so small a compass. Here were the representatives of seven distinct nations, each speaking his own native language, which produced at times a very respectable jumble of discordant sounds.—Josiah Gregg, Santa Fe trader, 1830s

Guided by a civilized Indian, attended by two wild ones from the Sierra; a Chinook from the Columbia; and our own mixture of American, French, German...; four or five languages heard at once;...American, Spanish, and Indian dresses intermingle—such was our composition. [Though Fremont did not refer to him in this passage, the party also included Jacob Dodson, "a free young colored man of Washington City."]—John C. Fremont, 1844, traveling east from Southern California

[In the 1840s, the Chinook Indians in the Northwest greeted Canadian artist Paul Kane, with the phrase, clak-hoh-ay-yah, which Kane said] "originated in their having heard in the early days of the fur trade a gentleman named Clark frequently addressed by his friends, 'Clark, how are you?'"

[During the California Gold Rush] William Downie, founder of Downieville, began a mining enterprise with a party of nine men, seven of them black—a partnership formed] "when several Negro miners who had been working the river nearby dropped into Downie's store for a drink."

In short my only happiness on the plains were my meetings with Indians.—Veteran of the Overland Trail

We have been visited by many Indians today, traded with them, hard bread for Moccasins and beads. They seem perfectly friendly and kind. Our fears of Indians have all disappeared.—Polly Coon, overland traveler, 1852

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The entertainment commenced with serving each with a little tobacco, then our musical instruments...played up a lively air. Which from many of the Natives, now hearing for the first time, caused a general exclamation of wonder and pleasure—This was followed by a request for them to dance, which they did willingly, then our seamen danced in their turn, and so the thing went alternately, in a little time, the Natives entered fully into the spirit of the amusement...—Captain Rochfort Maguire, Point Barrow, Alaska, 1854

There was no want of human elements on Cherry Creek in those days, Anglo-Americans, Germans, Frenchmen, Irishmen, Mexicans, Indians—all figured there in large numbers.—Henry Villard, Colorado, 1859

In my little restaurant at Monterey, we have sat down to table, day after day, a Frenchman, two Portuguese, an Italian, a Mexican, and a Scotsman: we had for common visitors an American from Illinois, a nearly pure-blood Indian woman, and a naturalised Chinese; and from time to time a Switzer and a German came down from country ranches for the night.—Robert Louis Stevenson in California, 1879-1880

As I walked down the street, I stopped several citizens to ask the way. No one could speak English; the answer to each question was, 'Quien sabe?' I finally got indignant to think of walking a street in my own country and not being able to find a citizen who spoke the language, but I cooled off when I reflected that Indians and Mexicans had been here ages before I was; I was the interloper.—Bernard James Byrne, army surgeon in Santa Fe, late 19th century

We had Italian people that always at Christmas would have us to come over and get us a Christmas drink and give us a gallon or two of wine. I had one neighbor [who] I had to drink wine with every evening when we came home from work. Come on over before we should take a bath. Get the coal dust out of our throats.—Hugh Crouch, black miner in southern Wyoming coal industry, early 20th century

A kaleidoscope of colors and languages and customs that surprised and absorbed me at every turn—Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Hindus, Portuguese, Italians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Koreans, and blacks.—Ernesto Galarza, remembering his neighborhood in Sacramento in the early 20th century

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Story Outline Worksheet

Plot: What is the problem to be solved?

What will happen if there is no cooperation?

Why do characters decide to cooperate?

How will the story end?

Setting: Describe three locations, including flashbacks, that you'll use in your story. (Remember that the exterior and interior of the same building equals two locations.) Use as many of the five senses as you can to describe these locations.

Characters: Describe at least three characters (appearance and personality) and what part they'll play in your plot.

Quotation: Write your assigned quotation here and explain where you'll place it in your story.

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16. PUBLIC ART THAT REFLECTS THE AMERICAN WEST: *THE SHOOT-OUT*

Introduction:

The selection and placement of public art can serve as a catalyst for a renewed sense of community or for unsettling controversy. This lesson provides a case study in which the communities of Denver discuss whether *The Shoot Out*, a large contemporary sculpture by Red Grooms, is an appropriate symbol of the American West. Community response to this art illustrates that people who live in the West do not necessarily share the same myths.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Observe art of the American West from the perspectives of various interest groups.

2. Analyze selected western symbols to determine whose values are represented, questioned, or challenged by the artist.

3. Examine the history and placement of public art in their own community.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 16-1 and 16-2 for all students. A copy of *Red Grooms*, by Carter Ratcliff (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), will be very useful.

Procedure:

1. Ask the class to discuss the following question: Is there a particular type of art that represents the American West? If you have access to the book *Red Grooms*, by Carter Ratcliff, display the photograph of the sculpture entitled *The Shoot-Out*. Allow time for students to examine it; then ask the following discussion questions:

- Describe what you see in the picture. What art forms have been used?
- What is the connection between the content and the art form? What do you think it means?
- Do you like this piece of art? Why or why not?

If you do not have access to the book, ask students to imagine a large metal sculpture with two cartoon-like figures. The figures depict an Indian and a cowboy shooting at each other, one with a bow and arrows, the other with a six-shooter. What would such a piece of art say about the West? Would students want such a work in their town to represent the West? Assign Handout 16-1, explaining that the reading provides background information about this very large sculpture that was donated to the city of Denver for public art in the 1980s.

2. Use Handout 16-2 to explain the role play in which students are to participate. The role play is designed to help them understand the range of intellectual and emotional responses to *The Shoot-Out* from the community. Assign small groups of students to each role, with the task of

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deciding what their recommendation will be regarding the acceptance of the proposed gift. Record the decisions on the board as each group reports their recommendation.

3. Conclude the lesson by asking students to step out of their roles and discuss the following questions:

- What criteria should communities use to select public art and artists?
- When is public art controversial? Is controversy regarding public art a positive or negative? How should the Denver Art Museum respond to the offer of the gift, *The Shoot-Out*? What reasoning do you use to support your decision?
- What type of art would you substitute or add to the collection to balance *The Shoot-Out*?

Students may need help in considering how controversy can be positive. You may wish to point out that the art could help different segments of the community identify and discuss varying perspectives. Perhaps we need some art that makes us uncomfortable in order to understand our history. If we have only the romantic images, we may have a false security about the future of the West.

Extension/Enrichment:

Have students research a piece of local public art. Have there been similar controversies? Who funded the art? Whom does it speak to? Who might be offended by the art? Students could also develop a guide or walking tour about local public art.

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Controversy in Denver

In the 1980s, a Denver oilman commissioned Red Grooms, a well-known pop artist from New York, to complete an aluminum depiction of a cowboy and Indian shooting at each other. The artist created a 3,000-pound, 20-foot-long, brightly colored, cartoon-inspired image of the Old West. He explained that this work, which he titled *The Shoot-Out*, was inspired by the work of Native American artists whom he had met on his first trip to the Southwest a few years before. In discussing the work, the artist said: "Hitting the Southwest was really exciting. Seeing [the landscape] brought up in my mind all those myths I'd imagined."

When the sculpture was unveiled at a busy downtown intersection, the work immediately created questions and controversy. The Denver community was accustomed to public art that reflected conventional themes and romantic images of grizzled mountain men, beautiful Indian princesses, hardy pioneers, and flinty-eyed cowboys.

While local artists defended the work as a humorous attempt to make people look into America's cowboy and Indian myths, the rest of the community saw it differently. Native Americans saw the sculpture as making fun of the slaughter of Indians, and many others who passed by agreed! Some feminists saw the art as trivializing violence. Others though it was just plain ugly.

Grooms, an Easterner, was dismayed by the response of the community to *The Shoot-Out*. In an interview, he responded to the controversy by stating "I think people took it too literally...I mean, I did want to say something. Not negative, but positive. Look at Eddie Murphy, what he does with stereotypes. You have to come right out with these things, and then you get used to each other. It's not just the race issue. I think people were offended by something that looked flippant—that cartoony look for public sculpture."

Under pressure from the public, the owner and the city agreed to move the art. The owner asked the Denver Art Museum to accept the sculpture as a gift. An editorial in *The Denver Post* encouraged placement of the art in the Denver Art Museum to "show the city is open to fresh interpretations of the myths of the West."

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Red Grooms' *The Shoot-Out* at the Denver Art Museum

The date is October of 1983.

This sculpture has been offered as a long-term loan to the Denver Art Museum (DAM) to be converted to a gift in the future.

Play your role in making your recommendation to the museum's collection committee. In your recommendation, you may indicate what additional information you need in order to make a fuller, more complete report.

Roles:

1. Donald F. Todd, Denver oilman who commissioned the work
2. Red Grooms, the artist
3. Vivian Locust of the Native American Education Program at the University of Colorado-Denver
4. American Civil Liberties Union attorney
5. Dianne Vanderlip, curator of contemporary art at DAM
6. Museum board member whose speciality is Western art
7. Museum board member whose specialty is Asian art

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17. TOWARD A WIDER VIEW OF THE WESTERN STORY: THREE NOVEL STUDIES

Introduction:

Ramona, *My Ántonia*, and *Sea of Grass* provide multiple perspectives on the western story. In *Ramona* (1884), by Helen Hunt Jackson, the title character, who is of mixed Scottish and Indian blood, defies her wealthy and powerful adoptive family, who are of the ruling Mexican class of mission-era California. Ramona elopes with the noble Indian Alessandro. They are pursued to a tragic end by both Mexican society and the newly arrived white settlers. The author wrote the book to arouse public sentiment to support legislation for better treatment of Native Americans.

My Ántonia (1918), by Willa Cather, is set in the western Nebraska prairie, as it is being settled by immigrants from Europe and the eastern United States. The Bohemian heroine, Antonia Shimerda, must work as a servant on neighboring farms after the suicide of her father. The narrator is befriended by Antonia and other immigrant children and comes back years later to locate her. After a disastrous elopement, Antonia becomes the wife of a Bohemian farmer and raises a large and loving family. The description of the prairie and contrast with the hypocrisy of the small towns are strengths of the novel.

In *Sea of Grass* (1937), by Conrad Richter, cattle baron Colonel Brewton rules thousands of acres of grasslands in eastern New Mexico. One set of conflicts concerns the battle between cattlemen and farmers. Another concerns Brewton and the wife he courts in St. Louis and brings to New Mexico.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Understand views of the U.S. West that go beyond popular mythic perspectives.

2. Consider the conflict and cooperation involved in the convergence of cultures of the West.

Time Required: Variable, depending upon books selected and amount of time needed to complete them.

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of the books selected, as well as the handouts provided for the books.

Procedure:

1. Assign students to read the book(s) you have selected. Provide the appropriate set of discussion questions so students can think about the questions as they read. Conduct small- or large-group discussions of the questions, which can also be used as essay topics.

2. If all three novels are used, spend a period debriefing and comparing the various perspectives in the three novels.

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3. Have students do library research to uncover more information about these cultural groups in the West. They may present the results of their research in posters, stories, dramatic presentations, or reflective essays.

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Discussion Questions for *Ramona*

1. Virtually all the women in *Ramona* are strong characters. This is fairly unusual for a novel written by and about a woman in the 1880s. Contrast Ramona with Señora Moreno. From where does each get her strength? Discuss the flaws of each character. How does each employ her strength (i.e., what is the result of her intentions and actions)?

2. The minor female characters are also strong, independent women. List some of them and explain their strengths.

3. Describe the pattern of character development for both Ramona and Felipe. Do the characters of Alessandro or Señora Moreno show development? Explain.

4. The novel presents the mission system in a positive light. Can you imagine any abuses of such a system? In what ways were the Mexican priests culturally myopic? Compare the intentions of the later Anglo settlers?

5. The U.S. government is portrayed as cold and unresponsive to the needs of the Indians, but many individual whites are portrayed as sympathetic. List some of the white characters and discuss their treatment of the Indians.

6. Discuss evidence of prejudice in the novel. What is Jackson's understanding of the nature of prejudice?

7. The common definition of a romance is a novel "with extravagant characters, remote and exotic places, highly exciting and heroic events, passionate love, or mysterious or supernatural experience" (*A Handbook to Literature*). In what ways does *Ramona* fill this definition?

8. Have you read about this era of American history in your textbooks? Explain why it is generally ignored by both history and English classes.

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Discussion Questions for *My Ántonia*

1. "More than any other person, this girl seemed to mean to us the country, the conditions, the whole adventure of our childhood" (Introduction). What was it that Jim remembered and valued about Ántonia?

2. "But Bohemians have a natural distrust of Austrians" (p. 21). How does this statement reflect the distance between these and other ethnic groups in the novel?

3. "...if any man there had been remiss toward the stranger come to a far country, God would forgive him and soften his heart" (p. 117). How does this part of the prayer at Mr. Shimerda's funeral express a theme of the novel?

4. "It opened with the melancholy reflection that, in the lives of mortals, the best days are the first to flee" (p. 263). Another theme of the novel is expressed by this quote, which refers to the Virgil allusion on the title page. Put this theme into your own words.

5. "Whatever we had missed, we possessed together the precious, the incommunicable past" (p. 372). Why do you think that a shared past is such a link between some people? Why does it matter to others?

6. Discuss the various ethnic groups that settled the midwestern farmlands. How did they deal with one another? How were people able to overcome prejudices?

7. What qualities were needed to acquire material success in Nebraska? In what ways was Ántonia's family poorly prepared to achieve success?

8. Discuss the social strata of Black Hawk, especially regarding the position of the hired girls.

9. Cather felt that the land represents the best of western life and that the small towns represent the worst. Explain, using specific details from the text.

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Discussion Questions for *Sea of Grass*

1. Is there a hero in this novel? Justify your answer with specifics from the text.

2. Who or what endures at the end of the novel? What thematic meaning can be drawn from these survivals?

3. Richter's take on cattlemen and settlers is somewhat different from the conventional treatment in film and fiction. Describe Richter's attitude toward each group. Then, discuss the ways in which Richter's attitude toward these two groups influences both the plot and the theme of this novel.

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18. WYOMING WOMEN'S SUNRISE CLUB

Introduction:

Historians have written little on black women in the West, often citing the dearth of primary sources such as letters, diaries, and journals as a reason for the lack of historical writing. The dearth of such documents has been attributed to illiteracy. Yet the implication that all blacks in the West were unable to read or write is untrue, as evidenced in such sources as club records.

This lesson is based on entries from the 1941 minutes of a black women's club—the Wyoming Women's Sunrise Club of Sheridan, Wyoming. Women's clubs were common in communities throughout America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In examining these documents, students should be aware of three important points:

- Many black westerners were literate.
- Black women's clubs, like their white counterparts, played important roles in western communities.
- Primary sources other than letters, diaries, and journals are rich in information about black women's presence in the West.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Describe how a women's club was organized and conducted business.
2. Explain ways in which a women's club was important to the community.
3. List ways that women's clubs used to bring about social change.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 18-1 for all students. You will also need a wall map of the United States. If you can obtain copies of "Lift Every Voice and Sing," the Negro National Anthem; the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution; and the Declaration of Independence, they would be useful additions to the lesson. The lyrics for "Lift Every Voice and Sing" are available in many poetry collections, including the recent *Celebrate America in Poetry and Art* edited by Nora Panzer (New York: Hyperion Books, 1994). A well-known recording by Leontyne Price is on the RCA album "God Bless America." Your school's library/media specialist should be able to assist you in finding one of these or another version.

Procedure:

1. Ask students what they recall having learned about black women in the American West. Ask them to speculate about why they have not read more about this group of people. Explain that some historians have claimed that there are not enough documents, such as journals, diaries, and letters, written by black women; the lack of such documents is often explained as a consequence of illiteracy. Yet many black westerners were literate and other kinds of sources exist. One such source is records of clubs whose members were black women. These clubs were important community organizations. Students will be working with records from one club in this lesson.

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2. Tell students that the documents they will be reading are from the 1941 minutes of the Wyoming Women's Sunrise Club in Sheridan, Wyoming. Have students locate Sheridan on a map and discuss what the topography is like there. Also, review with students the status of race relations in October 1941. On the eve of U.S. entry into World War II, blacks were segregated in many aspects of everyday life, and discrimination was both common and legal. What do students think might happen to the club when the United States enters the war a year later?

3. Distribute Handout 19-1 and allow time for students to read the documents. If you have copies of "Lift Every Voice and Sing," the Preamble to the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence, you may want to make them available for student use as they read the documents. Conduct a class discussion using such questions as:

- What is the Negro National Anthem? ("Lift Every Voice and Sing," by James Weldon Johnson) Why do you think it was sung instead of "The Star Spangled Banner"?
- What problems of discrimination did the club members identify? (Discrimination at the swimming pool and at the lunch counter at the local drug store) Can they identify reasons for the discrimination? (A mayor—and probably others—who do not believe in race mixing) What actions did club members take to address these problems? (Placing an ad in the local paper, the Press, and in a black newspaper in Kansas City, the KC Call; establishing a committee to talk to the city government; boycotting the drug store)
- What historical document did the club members cite in their letter to the mayor and city council members? (The Constitution) Did students detect any errors in these references? (Some of the quotations were actually from the Declaration of Independence) How might they improve the letter in light of what they found? Would their revision be more effective with the city officials? Why or why not? (Probably not, since the officials may not have been aware of the error, and even a correct reference would be unlikely to outweigh prejudice)
- How many club members can you identify from the minutes? (13 members attended the first meeting, but only nine names are given in the two sets of minutes and the letter) Can you draw any conclusions about the importance of specific members to the success of the club? Why or why not? What kind of women do you think the members of the club were? Why?
- What topic, in addition to discrimination, was discussed at both meetings? (By-laws and parliamentary procedure) Why would this be an important topic for a club of this sort?

4. If time permits, divide the class into two groups and have each group prepare a role play. One group can role play the meeting between the committee and the city officials regarding discrimination at the swimming pool. The other group can role play a meeting of the club. How do the role plays help students better understand the club and its functions?

5. Conclude the lesson by having students write brief essays about the club, focusing on the following questions?

- What was the role of the Wyoming Women's Sunrise Club in the community of Sheridan?
- Were the club's projects beneficial to the community? Explain your reasoning.

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Minutes of the Wyoming Women's Sunrise Club

Sheridan, Wyo
October 2nd 1941

The Wyoming Sunrise Club met at the home of Mrs. Baker on the above date. The meeting was called to order by the president. The Negro National Anthem was sung and the Lord's prayer in unison. The roll was called with eleven (11) members present. The minutes read and approved. The president called for unfinished business. There being none new business was in order. Mrs. Powell asked for a discussion on the discrimination against our group at the swimming pool. Mrs. Newsome asked if there had really been discrimination. Mrs. Marie Lewis and Mrs. Askew reported on that. Mrs. Lewis that she had had heard of one case and Mrs. Askew told of her own experience. After a lengthy discussion it was decided to have a committee to meet with the city council.

A motion was made by Mrs. Powell the Chair appoint a Committee of five to wait on the City Council. A request was made by Mrs. Jackson the President be one of the Committee. The motion was seconded and carried. Appointed Mrs. Ada Lewis, Mrs. Askew, Mrs. Newsome, Mrs. Jackson with the president as Chairman of the Committee. It was moved by Mrs. ____ that there be a notice of the organization after Club be put in the Press also the K.C. Call. The motion carried.

A motion was made by Mrs. Jackson that each member be limited to five minutes on any one discussion and anyone wishing to talk a second time must wait until all other members have talked. The motion carried.

The resolutions Committee was asked to have the by-laws and constitutions printed in book form.

A request was made by Mrs. Finch the meeting start promptly at 8 oclock that we may be able to dismiss earlier. This request was to be granted.

Mrs. Lewis was to lead a discussion at this meeting. She reported having checked on the positions being held in the Court House and advised working for some positions for our group. Because of the lateness of the hour the rest of the talk on this subject was postponed until the next meeting. There being no other business the meeting adjourned to meet with Mrs. Brown Oct 21st. The hostess was given a vote of thanks for refreshments that was served.

Helen Jackson Secr.

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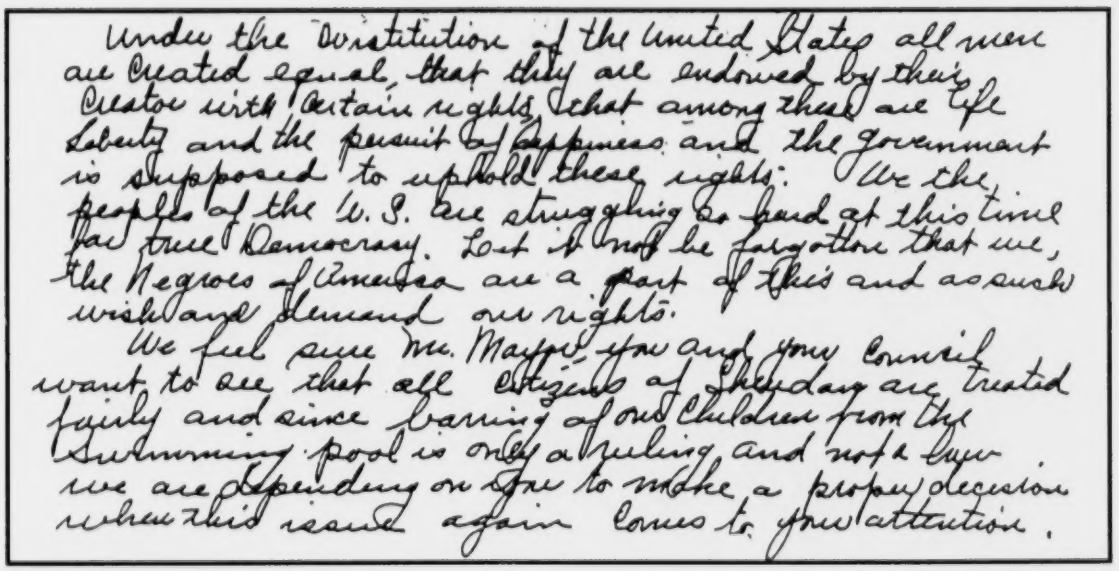
Sheridan Wyoming
Tues Oct 14th 1941

Mr. Mayor and members of the City Council, we the Committee of the Wyoming Womens Sunrise Club of Sheridan haveing been appointed to meet with the present Council for the purpose of discussing and getting a better understanding about the barring of Negro Children from the public swimming pool of Sheridan. This pool having been given to the citizens of this community and where as we the Negroes of Sheridan being Citizens of this Community and taxpayers, living up to all the obligations demanded of the Citizens of Sheridan and the State of Wyoming, do feel as such we should enjoy the same privileges as any other law abiding citizen regardless of race, creed, or color.

Under the Constitution of the United States all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain rights, that among these are life liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the government is supposed to uphold these rights. We the peoples of the U.S. are struggling so hard at this time for true Democracy. Let it not be forgotton that we, the Negroes of America are a part of this and as such wish and demand our rights.

We feel sure Mr. Mayor you and your Council want to see that all citizens of Sheridan are treated fairly and since barring of our children from the swimming pool is only a ruling and not a law we are depending on you to make a proper decision when this issue again comes to your attention.

Committee Mrs. Ada Lewis
" Washington
" Jackson
" Newsome
" Askew
Helen Jackson secretary


Under the Constitution of the United States all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain rights that among these are life Liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the government is supposed to uphold these rights. We the peoples of the U. S. are struggling so hard at this time for true Democracy. Let it not be forgotton that we, the Negroes of America are a part of this and as such wish and demand our rights.

We feel sure Mr. Mayor you and your Council want to see that all citizens of Sheridan are treated fairly and since barring of our Children from the swimming pool is only a ruling and not a law we are depending on you to make a proper decision when this issue again comes to your attention.

Segment of original handwritten letter.

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Sheridan Wyoming
Tues Oct 21st

The Women's Sunrise Club met at the home of Mrs. Letha Brown on the above date. The Negro National Anthem was sung and the Lord's Prayer was was repeated in unison.

The roll was called. Thirteen members present. Forty-five (45 cents) was collected in dues. Minutes read and approved. The president called for unfinished business. The president gave a report on the committee meeting with the City Council about the discrimination at the swimming pool. The report was that Mr. Ryan the Commissioner was very cordial and seemed willing to cooperate with us in making it possible for our children to have the use of the pool. Mr. Orr the Mayor made it quite clear he did not believe in the races mixing. Mr. Scullen made no comment. The Committee all agreeed the mayor did not seem to favor our request but Mr. Ryan was sympathetic. However they thanked the Committee and the Club for calling their attention to the matter and asked to talk with a Committee again on the matter if they still held their offices after the coming election. A rising vote of thanks was given the Committee for the work and report.

Mrs. Newsome reported Browns Drug Store refusing to serve at the lunch counter one of our race and asked us to consider boycotting the drug store. A motion was made by Mrs. Jackson to ask the mens club to join our Club in inserting an add in press to boycott Browns. It was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Finch reported the printing of the by laws and constitution would be $3.50.

A motion was made by Mrs. Lewis that 1/2 hour be devoted to parliamentary law at each second meeting of the month. It was seconded and carried. A motion was made by Mrs. Jackson that each member answer roll call by quotations; it was seconded and carried. The meeting then adjourned on motion. A vote of thanks having been given the hostess for entertaining the Club. The next meeting with Mrs. Dukes.

Helen Jackson secretary

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19. CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF THE KILLINGS AT ROCK SPRINGS, 1885: A STUDY IN CONFLICT AND POINT OF VIEW

Introduction:

Stereotypes of the Asian presence in western history often suggest cheerful Chinese doing menial labor to support railroad building and mining. Rarely is the relationship between Chinese workers and their non-Chinese counterparts examined. This lesson asks students to consider the relationship among Chinese and non-Chinese workers in a Wyoming mining camp as a strategy for demythologizing the treatment of Asian immigrants who traveled east to settle the West. In addition, the lesson develops students' ability to identify point of view when analyzing documents.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Deduce the facts of an incident from documents.

2. Consider point of view as an aspect of the manner in which an incident is reported.

3. Question their own stereotypes about the role of Asians in western history.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 19-1 for all students and enough copies of the task cards for one-third of the class to have each.

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into small groups of three or four students. Give each group copies of Handout 19-1 and one of the Task Cards. Allow time for students to complete the task.

2. Debrief the work of the small groups with the entire class. Ask the class to compare and contrast the work of groups completing the same task. Is there variety? If so, why? How much does point of view affect even the way class work is done?

3. Discuss the stereotypes of Asians in western history as presented in western film and TV programs. How does reading these documents challenge those stereotypes?

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Task Card A

Consider the point of view of the writers of these documents. What does each writer wish to accomplish? What is the "tone" or emotional content of each piece? What is the writer's attitude toward the Chinese people in Rock Springs? How do you think he feels about what happened?

Then rewrite the document, using as many of the same facts as you can, but from the point of view of a white miner, policeman, or other non-Chinese member of the community.

Task Card B

Consider the point of view of the writers of these documents. What does each writer wish to accomplish? What is the "tone" or emotional content of each piece? What is the writer's attitude toward the Chinese people in Rock Springs? How do you think he feels about what happened?

Consider the incident in terms of the justice system. What are the facts according to:

1. The police, who must file charges.

2. The lawyer, who will defend the accused.

3. The Chinese community, who will attend the trial.

Consider a civil suit and filing for damages. Who should be sued? For what amount?

Task Card C

Consider the point of view of the writers of these documents. What does each writer wish to accomplish? What is the "tone" or emotional content of each piece? What is the writer's attitude toward the Chinese people in Rock Springs? How do you think he feels about what happened?

Consider the incident in terms of a newspaper reporter. Write a newspaper article regarding this incident. Be sure to include the economic and labor issues and the reason for the white miners' anger. How will the article change depending on where the article is published? for what audience? (a labor union paper in Chicago, a Chinese language paper in San Francisco, etc.) Draw a map of the incident that would make the facts of the event clear to the newspaper reader. Which events and places are most confusing or unclear?

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Chinese Accounts of the Killings at Rock Springs, 1885

Chinese Consulate-General,
San Francisco, Cal., October 5, 1885.

Sir: I have the honor to state that in compliance with your excellency's instructions, I proceeded with Col. F. A. Bee, Chinese consul at San Francisco, and Mr. Tseng Hoy, interpreter, to Rock Springs, where we arrived on the 19th of September, 1885, for the purpose of investigating the present condition of our countrymen in the latter place, and of ascertaining the facts connected with the recent riot that took place there against them.

As soon as we reached Rock Springs we ordered the remains of those Chinese killed in the riot to be disinterred and examined. We had fourteen coffins dug up, on opening which we found some bodies entire, some parts of bodies, the bones of separate bodies, and promiscuous heaps of bones; and we also dug up the remains of one without a coffin. Inquiring of the coroner at Rock Springs, he stated that since the 3d of September he had examined and interred nineteen persons, and I found that the Union Pacific Railroad Company had interred the remains of two. Besides five entire bodies, the remains of eight others were recognizable, while the bones of eight others were found wrapped up in separate bundles. We had, therefore, exhumed in all the remains of twenty one persons....

Omitting those whose wounds have healed since the riot, I find that there are fifteen Chinese more or less severely wounded, several of whom, it is feared, will die, and several be disabled for life....

With reference to the property destroyed by the mob, I find that every one of the surviving Chinese has been rendered penniless by the cruel attack. There are three reasons why the Chinese so completely lost their property: 1st, most of them when fleeing had no time to gather up their money, and those that did carry money with them were forcibly deprived of it by the mob; 2d, what they left in their houses was either plundered or burnt; 3d, the huts which they built for themselves were completely destroyed.

Since the riot took place it has been impossible for them to secure even a torn sheet or any article of clothing to protect them from the cold, or even the crumbs from the table to satisfy their hunger, or even a plank or mat to rest their bodies on. These poor creatures, numbering hundreds, are all hungry and clothed in rags. They look worn out and frightened, and most of them forlorn and absent-minded. Words fail to give an idea of their sufferings, and their appearance is a sad one to human eyes to witness....

...I beg to inclose for your consideration...a copy of the memorial addressed to me while at Rock Springs by five hundred and fifty-nine Chinese.

I am, your obedient servant,

Huang Sih Chuen,
Chinese Consul at New York.

Source: *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, edited by Clyde A. Milner (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1989).

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Rock Springs, Wyo., September 18, 1885.

Hon. Huang Sih Chuen,
Chinese Consul:

Your Honor: We, the undersigned, have been in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, for periods ranging from one to fifteen years, for the purpose of working on the railroads and in the coal mines.

Up to the time of the recent troubles we had worked along with the white men, and had not had the least ill-feeling against them. The officers of the companies employing us treated us and the white men kindly, placing both races on the same footing and paying the same wages.

Several times we had been approached by the white men and requested to join them in asking the companies for an increase in the wages of all, both Chinese and white men. We inquired of them what we should do if the companies refused to grant an increase. They answered that if the companies would not increase our wages we should all strike, then the companies would be obliged to increase our wages. To this we dissented, wherefore we excited their animosity against us.

During the past two years there has been in existence in "Whitemen's Town," Rock Springs, an organization composed of white miners, whose object was to bring about the expulsion of all Chinese from the Territory. To them or to their object we have paid no attention. About the month of August of this year notices were posted up, all the way from Evanston to Rock Springs, demanding the expulsion of the Chinese, &c. On the evening of September 1, 1885, the bell of the building in which said organization meets rang for a meeting. It was rumored on that night that threats had been made against the Chinese.

On the morning of September 2, a little past 7 o'clock, more than ten white men, some in ordinary dress and others in mining suits, ran into Coal-pit No. 6, loudly declaring that the Chinese should not be permitted to work there. The Chinese present reasoned with them in a few words, but were attacked with murderous weapons, and three of their number wounded. The white foreman of the coal-pit, hearing of the disturbance, ordered all to stop work for the time being.

After the work had stopped, all the white men in and near Coal-pit No. 6 began to assemble by the dozen. They carried fire-arms, and marched to Rock Springs by way of the railroad from Coal-pit No. 6, and crossing the railroad bridge, went directly to "Whitemen's Town." All this took place before 10 o'clock a. m. We now heard the bell ringing for a meeting at the white men's organization building. Not long after all the white men came out of that building, most of them assembling in the bar-rooms, the crowds meanwhile growing larger and larger.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon a mob, divided into two gangs, came toward "Chinatown," one gang coming by way of the plank bridge, and the other by way of the railroad bridge. The gang coming by way of the railroad bridge was the larger, and was subdivided into many squads, some of which did not cross the bridge, but remained standing on the side opposite to "Chinatown;" others that had already crossed the bridge stood on the right and left at the end of it. Several squads marched up the hill behind Coal-pit No. 3. One squad remained at Coal-shed No. 3, and another at the pump-house. The squad that remained at the pump-house fired the first shot, and the squad that stood at Coal-shed No. 3 immediately followed their example and fired. The Chinese by name of Lor Sun Kit was the first person shot, and fell to the ground. At that time the Chi-

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nese began to realize that the mob were bent on killing. The Chinese, though greatly alarmed, did not yet begin to flee.

Soon after, the mob on the hill behind Coal-pit No. 3 came down from the hill, and joining the different sqauds of the mob, fired their weapons and pressed on to Chinatown.

The gang that were at the plant bridge also divided into several squads, pressing near and surrounding "Chinatown." One squad of them guarded the plank bridge in order to cut off the retreat of the Chinese.

Not long after it was everywhere reported that a Chinese named Leo Dye Bah, who lived in the western part of "Chinatown," was killed by a bullet, and that another named Yip Ah Marn, resident in the eastern end of the town, was likewise killed. The Chinese now, to save their lives, fled in confusion in every direction, some going up the hill behind Coal-pit No. 3, others along the foot of the hill where Coal-pit No. 4 is; some from the eastern end of the town fled across Bitter Creek to the opposite hill, and others from the western end by the foot of the hill on the right of Coal-pit No. 5. The mob were now coming in the three directions, namely, the east and west sides of the town and from the wagon road.

Whenever the mob met a Chinese they stopped him, and pointing a weapon at him, asked him if he had any revolver, and then approaching him they searched his person, robbing him of his watch or any gold or silver that he might have about him, before letting him go. Some of the rioters would let a Chinese go after depriving him of all his gold and silver, while another Chinese would be beaten with the butt ends of the weapons before being let go. Some of the rioters, when they could not stop a Chinese, would shoot him dead on the spot, and then search and rob him. Some would overtake a Chinese, throw him down and search and rob him before they would let him go. Some of the rioters would not fire their weapons, but would only use the butt ends to beat the Chinese with. Some would not beat a Chinese, but rob him of whatever he had and let him go, yelling to him to go quickly. Some, who took no part either in beating or robbing the Chinese, stood by, shouting loudly and laughing and clapping their hands.

There was a gang of women that stood at the "Chinatown" end of the plank bridge and cheered; among the women, two of them each fired successive shots at the Chinese. This was done about a little past 3 o'clock p.m....

Some of the rioters went off toward the railroad of Coal-pit No. 6, others set fire to the Chinese houses. Between 4 o'clock and a little past 9 o'clock p. m. all the camp houses belonging to the coal company and the Chinese huts had been burned down completely, one only of the company's camp houses remaining. Several of the camp houses near Coal-pit No. 6 were also burned, and the three Chinese huts there were also burned. All the Chinese houses burned numbered seventy-nine.

Some of the Chinese were killed at the bank of Bitter Creek, some near the railroad bridge, and some in "Chinatown." After having been killed, the dead bodies of some were carried to the burning buildings and thrown into the flames. Some of the Chinese who had hid themselves in the houses were killed and their bodies burned; some, who on account of sickness could not run, were burned alive in the houses. One Chinese was killed in "Whitemen's Town" in a laundry house, and his house demolished. The whole number of Chinese killed was twenty-eight and those wounded fifteen.

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20. TRUE STORIES OF WESTERN WOMEN: HOW DID GENDER SHAPE THE 19TH-CENTURY WESTERN IDENTITY?

Introduction:

Perhaps it is because the western hero is typically male that women's role in settling the American West is often missing from history. Contemporary historians are collecting depictions of women's experiences on the many frontiers of the American West—urban, mining, cattle, agriculture, and railroads. This lesson provides vignettes about several 19th-century western women from different cultural backgrounds who challenge some of the common assumptions about gender and culture. Collectively, their stories provide data that can be used to compare and debate hypotheses regarding the role of women in shaping a regional identity.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Examine the experiences of women from different cultural groups in the American West to find similarities and differences.

2. Use the humanities to present a case study about the experiences of a western woman.

3. Look for evidence to support a hypothesis through comparing case studies and completing research.

Time Required: 2 to 4 class periods depending on the time allotted for group reports

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 20-1 and 20-2 for all students; make enough copies of the case studies (Handout 20-3 through 20-11) for one small group to have each.

Procedure:

1. Using Handout 20-1, present several hypotheses regarding the role of women in the American West. Explain that this lesson will provide an opportunity for students to consider the validity of these theories and generate others through analysis of case studies. From what they know of our history, which theory do they think explains the experience of women in the West? What are their most vivid images of women in the West? (e.g., pioneer wife, dance hall girl, Indian princess) Where did these images originate?

2. With students, list the many cultural groups that settled the American West. Discuss the following questions:

- What generalizations can they make regarding the role of women in each of these cultural groups in settling the American West?

Adapted from a lesson written by Gayle Flanigan and Leandra Marshall, Borel Middle School, San Mateo, California.

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- During what time period did each group reach the region? Under what conditions?
- What direction did they travel to get to the region?

Emphasize the varied experiences among *individuals* within cultures. For example, Native American tribes had very different traditions regarding the role of women. (e.g., Acoma Pueblo was a matriarchal society in which women owned the property, while in other tribes men had several wives.) In discussing the Hispanic experience, compare the experience of Spanish and Mexican land grant settlers who migrated north as families with that of explorers and soldiers.

3. Explain that students will be working in cooperative groups to analyze case studies of nine women who lived in the American West in the 19th century. Each group is to present the women's story they have been assigned to the class through visuals, dramatization, and/or story telling. Each group should designate a reader, artist, mapmaker, and storyteller. Allow time for groups to prepare their presentations.

4. Review the categories on the retrieval chart (Handout 20-2) so that students provide parallel information about each subject. The retrieval chart will help students organize information about the experiences of each woman featured during reports.

5. Debrief the reports by asking students which of the hypotheses mentioned in Step 1 is supported most clearly through the case studies. Which theory do students think is supported through the case studies? Do these case studies represent the experience of most women? Why or why not? How should the history books present the experiences of women in the West during the 19th century? What lessons are there for people of today?

6. As an evaluation activity, ask each student to illustrate his/her understanding of these hypotheses by selecting a diary, biography, autobiography, or other primary source about a woman or group of women in the West. To what extent does the experience of this woman illustrate a particular viewpoint about the role of women in shaping the identity of the American West?

Extension/Enrichment:

Ask students to interview their mothers and grandmothers to investigate ways in which the women in their families are pioneers. (Examples: first female in family to graduate from college, kept family together during migration.)

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Hypotheses Regarding the Role of Women in the American West

How did the western experience affect women's behavior? How did they adapt? Historians have proposed several explanations of the western experience of women. Which explanation do you think should be represented in history books?

1. The 19th-century American West was a "man's world." Anglo women were reluctant pioneers. They left home under pressure from husbands and fathers. Being more fragile than men, women were more likely to be at risk for disease and unprepared for the realities of childbearing and loneliness; they were, therefore, not very happy in the region.

2. The frontier was liberating. The people of the West were the first to abandon the notion that women were intrinsically fragile. Women had increased opportunity in the West because there was a market for their skills. Women could earn money in male-dominated communities doing tasks (baking, sewing, washing) that women in other parts of the country did with no thought of compensation.

3. Women were small in number, but their presence was extremely consequential. They were a primary means of contact and communications with cultures other than their own. Native American women were vital in establishing the fur trade. Many western states gave women the right to vote long before the rest of the nation.

4. Because western society sanctioned violence, women were more likely to be victims of violence than women in other regions. This is a byproduct of the stress and aggressive behavior that came with frontier living. The presence of white women accelerated the violence.

5. Women were the "gentle tamers' of the wild West. Women were the community builders. Where one found women, one would also find churches, schools, and culture.

6. A history of exceptional women can be developed, but it is not of much use because it creates misunderstanding of how the West worked for most women.

Other hypotheses:

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True Stories of Western Women

	Place/ Cultures	Work/ Personal Challenges/ Goal	Contributions to Community	Perceptions of the West	Hypothesis Supported
Kate Bighead					
Mrs. A.M. Green					
Sara Winnemucca Hopkins					
Bethenia Owens-Adair					
Dona Estefano Delgado					
"Stagecoach Mary" Fields					
Biddy Mason					
Polly					
Grandma Stegeberg					

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Kate Bighead

In 1875, the Sioux rallied their forces to oppose prospectors during the gold rush in the Black Hills of Dakota Territory. In June 1876, Colonel George Armstrong Custer led about 250 U.S. troops to force the "hostiles" to return to the reservations. Custer's troops were annihilated near Montana's Little Bighorn by 2,500 Sioux warriors, allied with other tribes. Kate Bighead, a Cheyenne woman, participated in Custer's last stand.

* * * * *

...The chiefs...decided that all of us would travel together for the spring and summer hunting, as it was said that many soldiers would be coming to try to make us go back to the reservations....There were more Indians in those...camps than I ever saw together anywhere else....

The chiefs from all the camps, in council, decided we should move down the Little Bighorn River to its mouth, so our hunters could go across to the west side of the Bighorn and kill antelope in the great herds they had seen there. All of the Indians crossed to the west side of the Little Bighorn and moved the first part of the expected journey to the mouth of this stream. The plan was to stay at this camp but one night, and go on down the valley the next day.

The next morning (June 25, 1876) I went with an Oglala woman to visit some friends among the Miniconjou Sioux, up the valley toward where was the Uncpapa camp circle, at the upper or south end of the camps. We found our women friends bathing in the river, and we joined them. Other groups, men, women, and children, were playing in the water at many places along the stream. Some boys were fishing. All of us were having a good time. It was somewhere past the middle of the forenoon. Nobody was thinking of any battle coming. A few women were taking down their lodges, getting ready for the move on down the valley that day. After a while two Sioux boys came running toward us. They were shouting: "Soldiers are coming!"...

I had seen other battles, in past times. I always liked to watch the men fighting. Not many women did that, and I often was teased on account of it. But this time I had a good excuse, for...my nephew, named Noisy Walking, had gone. I was but 29 years old, so I had not any son to serve as a warrior, but I would sing strongheart songs for the nephew. He was 18 years old....

The Indians were using bows and arrows more than they were using guns. Many of them had no guns, and not many who did have them had also plenty of bullets. But even if they had been well supplied with both guns and bullets, in that fight the bow was better. As the soldier ridge sloped on all sides, and as there were no trees on it nor around it, the smoke from each gun fired showed right where the shooter was hidden. The arrows made no smoke, so it could not be seen where they came from. Also, since a bullet has to go straight out from the end of a gun, any Indian who fired his gun had to put his head up so his eyes could see where to aim it. By doing this his head might be seen by a soldier and hit by a soldier bullet. The Indian could keep himself at all times out of sight when sending arrows. Each arrow was shot far upward and forward, not at

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Introduction reprinted from *Ordinary Americans* (Alexandria, VA: Close Up Publishing, 1994). Excerpts from "She watched Custer's last battle—Kate Bighead's story: interpreted in 1927" in *Custer on the Little Bighorn* by Thomas B. Marquis (pp. 82-96), are reprinted by permission of the publisher, Reference Publications, Inc., Algonac, MI, © 1978.

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any soldier in particular, but to curve down and fall where they were. Bullets would not do any harm if shot in that way. But a rain of arrows from thousands of Indian bows, and kept up for a long time, would hit many soldiers and their horses by falling and sticking into their heads or their backs....

Lame White Man, the bravest Cheyenne warrior chief, stayed in hiding close to where [a] small band of soldiers got off their horses. From there he called to the young men, and they began creeping and dodging back to him....Within a few minutes there were many hundreds of warriors wriggling along the gullies all around those soldiers....

On all sides of this band of soldiers the Indians jumped up. There were hundreds of warriors, many more than one might have thought could hide themselves in those small gullies. I think there were about 20 Indians to every soldier there. The soldier horses got scared, and all of them broke loose and ran away toward the river. Just then I saw a soldier shoot himself by holding his revolver at his head, then another one did the same, and another. Right away, all of them began shooting themselves or shooting each other. I saw several different pairs of them fire their guns at the same time and shoot one another in the breast. For a short time the Indians just stayed where they were and looked. Then they rushed forward. But not many of them got to strike coup blows on living enemies. Before they could get to them, all of the white men were dead...

...The Indians believe that the Everywhere Spirit made all of them go crazy and do this, in punishment for having attacked a peaceful Indian camp....

[Editor's note: This story of mass suicide among the troopers is repeated in other Native American accounts of the battle. Also, a common saying among soldiers of that time—who feared torture by their captors—was "save the last bullet for yourself."]

I went riding among the Indians at different places on the battlefield in search of Noisy Walking. I saw several different ones of the soldiers not yet quite dead. The Indians cut off arms or legs or feet of these, the same as was done for those entirely dead. A Cheyenne told me where was my nephew, down in the deep gulch half way to the river, where had been most of the Cheyennes and Oglalas during all of the first part of the battle. I went down there and found him. He had been shot through the body and had been stabbed several times. I stayed with him while a young man friend went to the camps to tell his mother....

Noisy Walking died that night. Six of our Cheyenne young men now were dead. Many more Indians would have been killed if the Everywhere Spirit had not caused the white men to go crazy and turn their guns upon themselves....

I may have seen Custer at the time of the battle or after he was killed. I do not know, as I did not then know of his being there. All of our old warriors say the same—none of them knew of him being there until they learned of it afterward at the soldier forts or the agencies or from Indians coming from the agencies.

But I learned something more about him from our people in Oklahoma. Two of those Southern Cheyenne women who had been in our camp at the Little Big Horn told of having been on the battlefield soon after the fighting ended. They saw Custer lying dead there. They had known him in the South. While they were looking at him, some Sioux men came and were about to cut up his body. The Cheyenne women, thinking of Me-o-tzi, made signs. "He is a relative of ours," but telling nothing more about him. So the Sioux men cut off only one joint of a finger. The women then

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pushed the point of a sewing awl into each of his ears, into his head. This was done to improve his hearing, as it seemed he had not heard what our chiefs in the South said when he smoked the pipe with them. They told him then that if ever afterward he should break that peace promise and should fight the Cheyennes the Everywhere Spirit surely would cause him to be killed.

Through almost sixty years, many a time I have thought of Hi-es-tzie as the handsome man I saw in the South. And I often have wondered if, when I was riding among the dead where he was lying, my pony may have kicked dirt upon his body.

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Mrs. A. M. Greene

(1871)

About the middle of March, in the same year, my husband, with several other men, engaged in prospecting for coal; the distance being about five miles from Greeley. I was compelled to live alone with my two little children. Oh, what a fearful undertaking it was for me, who had never passed a night without a protector, in the way of father, brother or husband! My husband knew how timid I was, and it caused him great sorrow to absent himself from home, a place more dear than any other on this earth, to a true and loving husband. But what could he do; we had then been living ten months out of pocket, and the prospects for the future were not at all flattering; hence it behooved us to sacrifice the happiness of which he had never before been deprived.

I was then aroused by a rap at my door, which at first startled me, but after reflecting a moment I answered, then proceeded to arrange my toilet in haste and soon ascertained that my visitor was in search of bread. I directed him to the bakery, but he informed me that it was home made bread he was in search of. I told him I would bake bread for sale if I was sure I would have customers enough to make it pay. With this he appeared much delighted and assured me six to begin with. When I showed him one of my loaves he declared it was as large again as the baker's, besides he did not like their bread. After wishing my early visitor good morning, I proceeded to arrange matters as to engage in the capacity of a baker, and 'ere the sun sank behind the western horizon I had ten applicants for bread. When I finished the first sack of flour, I found that my profits amounted to four dollars, besides, I had gained the reputation of giving larger loaves than any other person engaged in the business in town. The only thing which I had to contend with was the anticipated disapproval of my husband in regard to my new enterprise, having heard him express himself in reference to my attempting to take boarders. I much feared the result would be a veto in this case. I therefore resolved to keep the secret from him as long as I could. The week passed by more rapidly than usual; every day brought new customers. I had baked the last of three sacks when Saturday came. This day was to bring my husband home, and O how glad I was, yet, how I feared that my secret would be divulged. I did not expect him until Saturday night and I knew he would only remain until Sabbath evening, or Monday morning, so I set myself to work to devise a plan to keep my customers away during his visit. I sent my two children to deliver the bread to each customer, requesting them not to come for more until Monday. When the last loaf was delivered and my little ones had returned home, I congratulated myself by saying: "The plan has worked like a charm."

"There comes papa! There comes papa!" cried the two children, "Let us run and meet him." With this they sprang out of the door and were soon encircled in their papa's arms, each doing his best to tell the most news and ask the most questions. After the usual "how do do's" and "how have you been?" were exchanged by my other half, and his better half, the little folks resumed: "O papa," said the younger. "Mind what mamma told you Frank," said his little sister endeavoring to put the child on his guard. "No I isn't going to tell papa not at all," said he. "Come children," said I, "you are monopolizing all of the time; mamma wants to talk." My husband, not being of suspi-

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cious disposition, took no notice of my embarrassment. Supper now being ready we all gathered around the table. I had not finished my first cup of tea, when a loud rap sounded at my front door. I instantly sprang up and hastened to receive my visitor. After bidding him good evening, I paused to learn his business. "I would like a couple of loaves of bread, ma'am, if you please," said he. "I have only bread enough, sir," said I, "to last me through the Sabbath;" and I turned to leave the stranger, but, he was not to be put off in this way. "Madam," said he, "perhaps I am not at the right place. Is this where Mrs. Green lives?" "It is," said I; "but there are more than one family of the Green's." "Is there, indeed, ma'am. Sure then I'm wrong, and I'll be after seeking them." I shut the door and returned to finish my supper. "Who was that and what did he want?" asked my husband. "O, a man hunting bread," said I, carelessly. "What brought him here hunting bread," said he, "does he not know where the bakery is? Strange," he continued, "that he should call at a private house?" I treated the affair with indifference and turned the subject to that of prospecting for coal. Everything went on in my favor until my little folks grew tired and sleepy and wished to go to bed. When the kiss good-night had been repeated, my little boy, wishing to assure me of his faithfulness, whispered in my ear loud enough to be heard across the room: "Mamma, I didn't tell papa, not at all." At this papa laughed heartily, for he well knew that he had a good joke on me. He did not ask the little fellow to divulge, as he feared it might teach him to break his promise, but he said to me: "'Murder will out,' won't it?" This compelled me to reveal the secret. When I had concluded he sighed, and then said: "Well if you think it best I have nothing to say." My heart sank within me and perhaps a tear glistened in my eye, but I brushed it away, saying: "You believe in 'Women's Rights,' and I claim that it is my right and also my duty to aid you when I can, without interfering with my household affairs." He let me do the rest of the talking and I flattered myself that I convinced him. Sabbath I had several new applications for bread, but I informed them I would not keep my house open on God's day to sell them, therefore, they must get their supplies on Saturday to last until Monday.

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Sara Winnemucca Hopkins

Born near Humbolt Lake, Nevada, in 1844, Sara Winnemucca (Paiute) grew up to be a staunch advocate for her people and their rights. She traveled throughout the United States, lecturing about the cruel abuses faced by her tribe at the hands of unscrupulous Indian agents who stole and made personal profit from the government food and supplies meant for the tribe. In her autobiographical and historical work, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, *Hopkins narrates the story of her family and the unjust treatment her people received after contact with and conquest by the United States government. Please note that the spelling "Piutes" in the title exemplifies the convention of the time. Today, the accepted form is "Paiute."*

It is believed that Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins died in October 1891 and that she is buried at Henry's Lake, Montana.

* * * * *

Oh, what a fright we all got one morning to hear some white people were coming. Every one ran as best they could. My poor mother was left with my little sister and me. Oh, I never can forget it. My poor mother was carrying my little sister on her back, and trying to make me run; but I was so frightened I could not move my feet, and while my poor mother was trying to get me along my aunt overtook us, and she said to my mother: "Let us bury our girls, or we shall all be killed and eaten up." So they went to work and buried us, and told us if we heard any noise not to cry out, for if we did they would surely kill us and eat us. So our mothers buried me and my cousin, planted sage bushes over our faces to keep the sun from burning them, and there were left all day.

Oh, can any one imagine my feelings buried alive, thinking every minute that I was to be unburied and eaten up by the people that my grandfather loved so much? With my heart throbbing, and not daring to breathe, we lay there all day. It seemed that the night should never come. Thanks be to God! the night came at last. Oh, how I cried and said: "Oh, father, have you forgotten me? Are you never coming for me?" I cried so I thought my very heartstrings would break.

At last we heard some whispering. We did not dare to whisper to each other, so we lay still. I could hear their footsteps coming nearer and nearer. I thought my heart was coming right out of my mouth. Then I heard my mother say, "T is right here!" Oh, can any one in this world ever imagine what were my feelings when I was dug up by my poor mother and father? My cousin and I were once more happy in our mothers' and fathers' care, and we were taken to where all the rest were.

I was once buried alive; but my second burial shall be for ever, where no father or mother will come and dig me up. It shall not be with throbbing heart that I shall listen for coming footsteps. I shall be in the sweet rest of peace,—I, the chieftain's weary daughter.

Introduction from *Growing Up Native American*, edited by Patricia Riley (New York: Avon Books, 1995). Narrative from *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1969).

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Well, while we were in the mountains hiding, the people that my grandfather called our white brothers came along to where our winter supplies were. They set everything we had left on fire. It was a fearful sight. It was all we had for the winter, and it was all burnt during that night. My father took some of his men during the night to try and save some of it, but they could not; it had burnt down before they got there.

These were the last white men that came along that fall. My people talked fearfully that winter about those they called our white brothers. My people said they had something like awful thunder and lightning, and with that they killed everything that came in their way.

The whole band of white people perished in the mountains, for it was too late to cross them. We could have saved them, only my people were afraid of them. We never knew who they were, or where they came from. So, poor things, they must have suffered fearfully, for they all starved there. The snow was too deep.

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Bethenia Owens-Adair

Thus passed one of the pleasantest, and most profitable winters of my life, while, whetted by what it fed on, my desire for knowledge grew daily stronger. My sister, Mrs. Hobson, now urged me to come back to her, and I said to her: I am determined to get a least at common school education. I now know that I can support and educate myself and my boy, and I am resolved to do it: furthermore, I do not intend to do it over a washtub, either. Nor will I any longer work for my board and clothes alone. You need me, and I am willing to stay with you the next six months, if you will arrange for me to go to school in Astoria next winter. She agreed to this, and some time later I said to her: "Diane, don't you think I could teach a little summer school here on the plains? I can rise at four, and help with the milking, and get all the other work done by 8 a.m., and I can do the washing mornings and evenings, and on Saturdays."

She said: "You can try," so the following day I asked Mr. Hobson if he would not get up a little school for me.

He replied: "Take the horse and go around and among the neighbors and work it up yourself."

I lost no time in carrying out his suggestion, and succeeded in getting the promise of sixteen pupils, for which I was to receive $2 each for three months.

This was my first attempt to instruct others. I taught my school in the old Presbyterian church, the first Presbyterian church building ever erected in Oregon. Of my sixteen pupils, there were three who were more advanced than myself, but I took their books home with me nights, and with the help of my brother-in-law, I managed to prepare the lessons beforehand, and they never suspected my incompetency.

From this school I received my first little fortune of $25; and I added to this by picking wild blackberries at odd times, which found a ready sale at fifty cents a gallon.

Fall found me settled at the old Boelling Hotel in Astoria, with my nephew, Frank Hobson, and my little son George. Our board was paid, I taking care of our small room, and our clothes, with the privilege of doing our washing and ironing on Saturdays. And now I encountered one of my sharpest trials, for, on entering school, and being examined in mental arithmetic, I was placed in the primary class!

Mr. Deardorff, the principal, kindly offered to assist me in that study after school, and, later, permitted me to enter both classes. Words can never express my humiliation at having to recite with children of from eight to fourteen years of age. This, however, was of brief duration, for in a few weeks, I had advanced to the next class above, and was soon allowed to enter the third (and highest) class in mental arithmetic.

At the end of the term of nine months, I had passed into most of the advanced classes; not that I was an apt scholar, for my knowledge has always been acquired by the hardest labor, but by sheer determination, industry and perseverance. At 4 a.m. my lamp was always burning, and I was poring over my books, never allowing myself more than eight hours of sleep.

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Nothing was permitted to come between me and this, the greatest opportunity of my life.

The following summer was spent on Clatsop with my sister, milking, making butter, and assisting in all the laborious, and never ending work of a well managed farm....

Bethenia then had two years of great success as a milliner and dressmaker, but was nearly driven out of business when a competitor moved in next door. She met the challenge by going to San Francisco to study with the best milliner in Roseburg. Her success as a businesswoman provided her with the money to send George through college and on to medical school.

In 1870 I placed my son in the University of California at Berkeley. I had always had a fondness for nursing, and had developed a special capacity in that direction by assisting my neighbors in illness. I was more and more besieged by the entreaties of my friends and doctors, which were hard to refuse, to come to their aid in sickness, often times to the detriment of business, and now that money came easily, a desire began to grow within me for a medical education. One evening I was sent for by a friend with a very sick child. The old physician in my presence attempted to use an instrument for the relief of the little sufferer, and, in his long, bungling, and unsuccessful attempt he severely lacerated the tender flesh of the poor little girl. At last, he laid down the instrument, to wipe his glasses. I picked it up, saying, "Let me try, Doctor," and passed it instantly, with perfect ease, bringing immediate relief to the tortured child. The mother, who was standing by in agony at the sigh of her child's mutilation, threw her arms around my neck, and sobbed out her thanks. Not so the doctor! He did not appreciate or approve of my interference, and he showed his displeasure at the time most emphatically. This apparently unimportant event really decided my future course.

A few days later, I called on my friend, Dr. Hamilton, and confiding to him my plans and ambitions, I asked for the loan of medical books. He gave me Gray's Anatomy. I came out of his private office into the drug-store, where I saw Hon. S.F. Chadwick, who had heard the conversation, and who came promptly forward and shook my hand warmly, saying: "Go ahead. It is in you; let it come out. You will win."

The Hon. Jesse Applegate, my dear revered friend...was the one other person who ever gave me a single word of encouragement to study medicine.

Realizing that I should meet opposition, especially from my own family, I kept my own counsel.

I now began in good earnest to arrange my business affairs so that I could leave for the East in one year from that time, meantime studying diligently to familiarize myself with the science of anatomy, the ground work of my chosen profession....

In due time, I announced that in two weeks I would leave for Philadelphia, to enter a medical school. As I have said, I expected disapproval from my friends and relatives, but was not prepared for the storm of opposition that followed. My family felt they were disgraced, and even my own child was influenced and encouraged to think I was doing him an irreparable injury, by my course. People sneered and laughed derisively. Most of my friends seemed to consider it their Christian duty to advise against, and endeavor to prevent me from taking this "fatal" step. I was literally kept on the rack. But as all things must have an end, the day of my departure was at last at hand....

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I had taken the decisive step and I would never turn back....My decision was now irrevocably made, and I was comforted.

Stage travel was no hardship for me, for, like the sailor on his ship, I felt at home in the stage. For several years I had gone to San Francisco spring and fall by land, when the nearest railroad connection was at Marysville, California....

On reaching Philadelphia, I matriculated in the Eclectic School of Medicine, and employed a private tutor. I also attended the lectures and clinics in the great Blockly Hospital twice a week, as did all the medical students of the city. In due time I received my degree, and returned to Roseburg to wind up my business, which I had left in charge of my sister.

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Doña Estéfano Delgado

The women on the Llano and Ceja played a great part in the history of the land. It was a difficult life for a woman, but she had made her choice when in the marriage ceremony she had promised to obey and to follow her husband. It may not have been her choice, since parents may have decided for her. It was the Spanish custom to make matches for the children. Whether through choice or tradition, the women had to be a hardy lot in order to survive the long trips by wagon or carriage and the separation from their families, if their families were not among those who were settling on the Llano.

The women had to be versed in the curative powers of plants and in midwifery, for there were no doctors within a radius of two hundred miles or more.

The knowledge of plant medicine is an inheritance from the Moors and brought to New Mexico by the first Spanish colonizers. From childhood, we are taught the names of herbs, weeds and plants that have curative potency; even today when we have doctors at our immediate call, we still have great faith in plant medicine. Certainly this knowledge of home remedies was a source of comfort to the women who went out to the Llano, yet their faith in God helped more than anything in the survival.

Every village had its *curandera* or *médica* and the ranchers rode many miles to bring the medicine woman or the midwife from a distant village or neighboring ranch.

Quite often, the wife of the *patrón* was well versed in plant medicine. I know that my grandmother, Doña Estéfano Delgado de Baca, although not given the name of *médica*, because it was not considered proper in her social class, was called every day by some family in the village, or by their *empleados*, to treat a child or some other person in the family. In the fall of the year, she went out to the hills and valleys to gather her supply of healing herbs. When she went to live in La Liendre, there were terrible outbreaks of smallpox and she had difficulty convincing the villagers that vaccination was a solution. Not until she had a godchild in every family was she able to control the dreaded disease. In Spanish tradition, a godmother takes the responsibility of a real mother, and in that way grandmother conquered many superstitions which the people had. At least she had the power to decide what should be done for her godchildren.

From El Paso, Texas, she secured vaccines from her cousin, Doctor Samaniego. She vaccinated her children, grandchildren and godchildren against the disease. She vaccinated me when I was three years old and the vaccination had passed many doctors' inspections.

As did my grandmother, so all the wives of the *patrones* held a very important place in the villages and ranches on the Llano. The *patrón* ruled the *rancho*, but his wife looked after the spiritual and physical welfare of the *empleados* and their families. She was the first one called when there was death, illness, misfortune or good tidings in a family. She was a great social force in the community—more so than her husband. She held the purse strings, and thus she was able to do as she pleased in her charitable enterprises and to help those who might seek her assistance.

From *We Fed Them Cactus,* by Fabiola Cabeza de Baca (Santa Fe: New Mexico Press, 1954), pp. 59-61.

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There may have been class distinction in the larger towns, but the families on the Llano had none; the *empleados* and their families were as much a part of the family of the *patrón* as his own children. It was a very democratic way of life.

The women in these isolated areas had to be resourceful in every way. They were their own doctors, dressmakers, tailors and advisers.

The settlements were far apart and New Mexico was a poor territory trying to adapt itself to a new rule. The Llano people had no opportunity for public schools, before statehood, but there were men and women who held classes for the children of the *patrones* in private homes. They taught reading in Spanish and sometimes in English. Those who had means sent their children to school in Las Vegas, Santa Fe, or Eastern states. If no teachers were available, the mothers taught their own children to read and many of the wealthy ranchers had private teachers for their children until they were old enough to go away to boarding schools.

Doña Luisa Gallegos de Baca, who herself had been educated in a convent in the Middle West, served as teacher to many of the children on the Llano territory.

Without the guidance and comfort of the wives and mothers, life on the Llano would have been unbearable, and a great debt is owed to the brave, pioneer women who ventured into the cruel life of the plains, far from contact with the outside world. Most of them have gone to their eternal rest and God must have saved a very special place for them to recompense them for their contributions to colonization and religion in an almost savage country.

The few who remain have interesting stories to relate of their life on the endless Llano and over the Cap Rock. During a visit with Doña Jesusita García de Chávez and her sister-in-law Doña Lola Otero de García in Albuquerque, I heard many stories of the old days.

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"Stagecoach Mary" Fields

When tall, powerfully built, fifty-two-year-old Mary Fields arrived in Cascade in the Montana Territory in 1884, there were few other blacks. The state of Montana was still to be realized five years in the future, and the sprawling prairie had about 191 black men and 155 black women. Neighbors may have wondered if the newcomer with the broad shoulders was typical of the new settlers.

Born in a Tennessee log cabin during the administration of President Andrew Jackson (also from Tennessee), Mary Fields and the President had some common traits. They were both ambitious, daring, and liked a good fight. But in Montana life started peacefully for Mary Fields.

With Mother Amadeus, an Ursuline nun, she arrived ready to work at St. Peter's Catholic Mission near Cascade. Mother Amadeus came to start a school for Indian women, and Mary Fields came along to help. The two women spent eight severe winters before the school was built. In freezing temperature they huddled over a fire in their log cabin.

Mary Fields did much of the heavy work around the place. She hauled lumber, drove a wagon, and picked up supplies from town. Perhaps because of the cold, she took to wearing two sets of clothing. Over a man's pair of pants she wore a long dress, an apron, and then a man's overcoat. This covering for her two-hundred-pound frame made her a notable sight in Montana.

Excitement soon entered her life at the Catholic mission. One night while hauling freight to St. Peter's, wolves attacked her wagon. The horses bolted. Wagon, supplies, and a surprised Mary Fields landed on the Montana prairie. It was a lonely and fearful night. With a rifle and pistol, and an iron determination not to fall asleep, Mary Fields kept the wolves at bay.

Another time during a bitter winter, she was driving her wagon from Cascade to the mission. A light snowfall turned to a blizzard whipped by strong winds. It was no use going forward, for it was not possible to see ahead more than a few feet. Mary Fields got down from the wagon and waited out the storm, walking back and forth all night to keep from freezing.

The nuns liked Mary Fields despite her pugnacious manner. They put up with the fact that she insisted on carrying guns and having fights with the hired hands. But one day she went too far. A dispute with a handyman led to gunfire as the two shot it out. No one was injured or killed, but everyone was shaken up. The bishop in Helena ordered Mother Amadeus to send Mary Fields away. Gunplay on consecrated ground was unacceptable.

But Mother Amadeus only sent her friend as far as Cascade and there helped her begin a restaurant. It failed. Some say Mary Fields was too good-hearted, feeding alike those who could pay, those who promised to pay, and those who could not pay at all. Again Mother Amadeus helped her establish the business and again it failed. Perhaps inside work did not agree with Mary Fields.

From *Black People Who Made the West*, edited by William Katz (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1992), pp. 81-83. Reprinted with permission from the publisher, Africa World Press. All rights reserved.

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In 1895 a mail route was established between Cascade and the Catholic Mission. Mother Amadeus helped Mary Fields land the job of carrying the mail. In her sixties, she delivered mail in clear weather and storms for eight years.

Later she took a job driving a stagecoach. From then on she was known as "Stagecoach Mary."

In her seventies she settled down to a laundry business. Mother Amadeus had been ordered to a mission in Alaska, and Stagecoach Mary was too old to accompany her. But she had many friends now in Cascade. The New Cascade hotel gave her free meals, and townsfolk helped pay for and rebuild her house when it burned to the ground.

But not everyone knew her or her reputation. One man walked into her laundry, picked up his clean clothes, and walked out without paying his bill. What could a woman do about it, he must have thought. He soon found out. She trotted after him, tapped him on the shoulder, and waited for him to turn around. As he faced her, she landed her heavy fist on his jaw and he went sprawling on the sidewalk. She walked back, announcing, "His bill's been paid in full." Not bad for a seventy-year-old woman.

During her years in town she took to smoking cigars and drinking in saloons with the men. No one questioned this, and some insist the town passed a law allowing her to drink in saloons.

Did she ever mellow? Some Cascadians thought so. They tell how Mary Fields took baby-sitting jobs. She gave schoolchildren candy on her birthday. Some say the schools closed that day so everyone could enjoy the birthday surprises of tough old Mary Fields.

A simple wooden cross marks the grave of this gun-toting female pioneer in Cascade's Hillside Cemetery.

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Biddy Mason

On January 24, 1848, gold was discovered in California. John A. Sutter, a Swiss immigrant who owned the land on the south fork of the American River, and his partner, James W. Marshall, made the discovery with a gang of Indian laborers. They all agreed to keep the bright yellow metal pieces that they had found a secret. They did not succeed.

By the end of the year California's population had doubled. Then the President of the United States announced the find, and within another year the population had soared to ten times its original size. In 1852, when California had been a state in the Union for only two years, its population reached almost a quarter of a million people. Of these, a hundred thousand considered themselves prospectors.

Who were these newcomers and where did they come from? Some were the Indians, Spaniards, or Mexicans who had always lived there. Another entire group were the Chinese, who came across the Pacific to make their fortune. Many crossed the plains in covered wagons. Others sailed from the eastern seaboard to Panama, crossed overland, and then continued their journey by ship to San Francisco. Still others sailed around Cape Horn to reach their destination.

Biddy Mason walked. She trudged behind the three hundred wagons of her master's caravan from Mississippi to California. This thirty-two-year-old slave had the job of keeping the cattle together during the long voyage across the continent, so she had to walk.

Biddy Mason was one of untold numbers of slaves brought by southern owners to labor in the gold fields. White miners, who resented the presence of any competition in the fields, immediately took action to halt the use of nonwhite labor in the mines. A "foreign miners' tax" was imposed on Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, blacks, and Chinese. Its aim was not to raise revenue but to keep nonwhites away from the mines. Periodically white miners concluded the tax was not working efficiently. They took matters into their own hands and drove out nonwhites with threats and violence. In 1850 when a Texas slaveholding family arrived with fifteen blacks at Rose's Bar, whites called a protest meeting that resolved: "No slave or Negro should own claims or even work in the mines." A second meeting informed the Texans to remove their slaves or they would be forcibly removed. The Texans apparently left.

White resentment of black miners stemmed from a widely held belief that blacks had a mysterious power to detect gold. This was clearly unfair competition. Every effort was made to keep blacks from using their special power in the California gold fields.

Through the 1850s, however, slaveholders brought their human property to the new state. Many blacks managed to labor in the gold fields despite the opposition of whites. Alvin Coffey, brought to the mines by his Missouri master, earned five thousand dollars in a short time. Although his master had agreed to let Coffey purchase the freedom of his family, instead he merely seized his money and sold him. Coffey went on to convince his new owner to let him work the gold fields to raise money for his family's liberty. This time he was successful, and by 1860 the Coffeys were free and prosperous resident of Tehama county.

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There must have been something in the air of Gold Rush California that stimulated thoughts of freedom. Many slaves made the effort, and some succeeded. Biddy Mason, hearing that her master planned to return to Mississippi, decided the time had come to liberate herself and her three daughters. With the aid of the local sheriff, she and her daughters won their freedom. They remained to settle down in California.

Mrs. Mason and her daughters were only a few of many who fought for liberty. On the streets of San José, San Francisco, and Sacramento black men and women battled with their white masters. Many of these cases ended up in courts, and sometimes blacks found white lawyers ready to defend them. Judges also aided at times, by bending interpretations of California laws. One judge freed a black man who admitted he was owned by the Missouri man who claimed him. Sorry, said the judge, since a black man's testimony could not be taken by a court, this admission was not acceptable. The black man went free and the bewildered slaveholder returned to Missouri minus one smiling slave.

Free blacks played an important part in the escape of many slaves. Mary Ellen Pleasant, who divided her time between running a brothel and aiding her race, rode into rural sections of the state to rescue people held in bondage. The entire black community of San Francisco received a warning from one judge for the "insolent and defiant" and "dangerous" way they interfered with those who were arresting slaves. At Stockton a free black who was seized as a slave and whose freedom papers were destroyed was subsequently liberated by a mob.

Biddy Mason and her family were among the lucky ones. They began their free life in California by working hard and saving carefully. Through investments, Mrs. Mason purchased large amounts of real estate. Soon she had land to donate for schools, churches, and hospitals. Her generosity also took a more personal form. She aided flood victims and brought food to men in the state's jails. A person who had walked to California from Mississippi as a slave knew what it mean to be oppressed and friendless. By the time she died in 1891, Mrs. Mason had won many friends of both races.

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Polly

Charlie lifted Polly off the bed and hugged her to him. She felt the worn flannel of his shirt against her face, soft as a caress.

"I would never stake you," he said, his voice surprised and hurt.

She kept her back taut. "I your slave. You can do anything."

He stood back, holding her at arm's length. "I didn't win you from Hong King so you could be my slave. You're free."

She looked down at his arms.

He dropped his hold, but the marks from his grip remained, deep red purple like the bruises from Jim when he had shaken her, demanding she face a reality neither one of them was able to confront. Rubbing the tender new bruises, she thought regretfully of the rich promise her first days with Jim had held, a promise unrealized in part because of circumstances, but more because, for all their talk, they had kept too much hidden from each other, from themselves. Was she to suffer the same loss again? And for the same reason?

In front of her, she could see Charlie, shoulders slumped, his head tossing back as he downed yet another drink. And in the mirror above the dresser, she could see his hands clasping bottle and glass. But she could not see his face, for he had lowered the mirror long ago to a height appropriate for her. Suddenly, all around her, Polly noticed similar instances of Charlie's thoughtful concern, the curtains nailed up to shield her from prying eyes, the second chair made smaller, the shelves and hooks lowered, and she found herself wondering if he had indeed forced the final bet to win her freedom and not the game.

Tonight, and the night before, she had been hurt by his apparent betrayals, angry because he could not understand her. But did she understand him? From the day she had ridden into Warrens, he had protected her, and she accepted his help without question, as though it were her due. Now, for the first time, she asked herself why he had come to her rescue in the saloon. Had he interceded out of some strange sense of Western chilvary? Or pity? Or because he was Jim's friend. And after Jim's death, had he continued to protect her out of loyalty to Jim, or because he had come to care for her, or simply to keep her in his bed?

She did not even know how or why he and Jim had become friends. Like a frog at the bottom of a well, she had seen nothing beyond the small circle of blue sky that meant freedom, concentrating all her thoughts, all her energies toward piling up the gold she needed to reach it, never once considering it might be gained another way. And now she could lose that freedom which Charlie had put within her grasp, and with it, Charlie.

From *Thousand Pieces of Gold* by Ruthanne Lum McCunn. Copyright © 1981 by Ruthanne Lum McCunn. Reprinted by permission of Beacon Press.

Searching for words that would clear away the misunderstandings, she began haltingly. "Charlie, sometimes I angry with you and you with me. But I know anger is only because you and I not understand, not believe the same way. Please, try understand this." She paused, waiting for acknowledgment.

He did not speak, but she saw his hands on bottle and glass freeze, breaking the steady drinking. Taking heart, she continued, "All my life I belong someone. My father, the bandits, Hong King. And I promise myself when I free of Hong King, I belong no man, only myself.

"You know I have gold I save to buy myself from Hong King. I want use that to build a house, start my own business. A boarding house like Mrs. Schultz."

Charlie poured another drink, gulped it. "You can't."

"You worry I not know how to cook? I watch Mrs. Schultz and I learn plenty quick."

"It's not that," he mumbled.

"Then what?" Polly demanded. "Because you think I not wife like Mrs. Schultz, not respectable, people say it bawdy house? You see, I show them they wrong."

Charlie turned to face her. "A Chinaman can't own land," he said, so softly she could barely hear him.

"But you say America have land for everyone. That people from all over the world come for the land. Rich. Poor. All the same. Anyone can have land. You said."

"Any American, You're from China."

She opened her mouth to shout denial, but the pain in Charlie's face told Polly his words had cost him too dearly to be negated by mere anger, and she sank silent onto the bed. She must think carefully, make sense out of Charlie's contradictions, her own confusion.

She knew the Chinese in Warrens did not own the stores and laundries where they worked, but she had thought that was because they planned to return to China as soon as they made enough money. Weren't the ones who came to Hong King's saloon always complaining about the loneliness of lives without wives and children, the brutish manners of white men, unfair taxes, and harsh laws? And didn't they always end their grumbling with talk of home, their eagerness to return to families left behind? But she had no family, no one to go home to.

Of course. That was it. Charlie didn't realize that she intended to remain in America. She would become an American and buy the land for her house. Land that would keep her free and independent always.

She leaped up, ran to Charlie, and crooked her arm through his. "You not understand. I never go back to China. I become American."

He pulled away. His fists clenched and unclenched. He took his pipe out of his pocket, rotated it in his hands, studying it, then tossed it only the bed, and reached for the bottle.

Polly grabbed his arm. "What is it? What wrong?"

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"The only way a Chinaman can become an American is to be born here."

She laughed. A short, bitter laugh. Here or in China, slave or free, it was the same. She needed a protector. She rubbed her hands across Charlie's back, unknotting the tight muscles. He turned. Mechanically she began unbuttoning his shirt.

He took her hands in his, holding them still. "Polly, I meant what I said. You're free. Let me be your China herder and build a house for you. You can do whatever you want to in it, invite anyone, refuse anyone. It's yours, I promise you." He smiled weakly. "You don't even have to have me."

"I..."

His fingers brushed her lips, gently silencing. "And yes, you can pay for it too."

She laughed, a joyous peal clear as ringing bells. Hearing it, Charlie's smile grew stronger, deepening into laughter that became one with Polly's. And suddenly, within the circle of their laughter, she felt finally, wonderfully free.

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Eleanor McGovern's Grandma Stegeberg

Grandma Stegeberg taught me all I know, and a great deal I wish to forget, about laundry. She was fastidious about the laundry, even though it took us literally days of hard physical labor to produce crisp, white, sweet-smelling, absolutely faultless linen and wearing apparel.

We soaked the clothes overnight. Then early in the morning we gathered wood for a fire and heated water for the washing machine and for a huge oblong iron boiler and as many pots and pans as we could fit on top of the stove. Into the washing machine went the first load: dishtowels, pillowcases, sheets, hand towels, and all the least grimy odds and ends. The machine was operated by pushing a lever back and forth to agitate the clothes, and the wringer was turned by hand. After the wet wash rolled out of the wringer, it was rinsed at least twice in tubs of clear water carried in from outside and then boiled in the pans of soapy water on top of the stove for about half an hour; the wringer again; a warm rinse; the wringer again; and another rinse, cold this time because there would be no soap left to "set." The soap was made by Grandma with lard rendered at the time of the annual slaughtering when one pig was taken from the crop and butchered, the fat stripped away, melted, mixed with lye, hardened, and cut into chips. It was strong enough to take the skin off our hands.

Today, when I see a family clothesline strung with washing, I usually think of Grandma Stegeberg. She did not hang things on the clothesline helter-skelter; she created a tableau. It was unthinkable, for instance, for her to reach down into the bushel baskets and grab what was on top so that the overalls might land next to, say, the sheets. No, our laundry went where it was meant to go—into some mysterious, interlocking, master plan.

The ironing took longer. Again at dawn we garnered fuel for the stove, lots of it, enough to keep the irons hot for hours and hours. Grandma showed us how to sprinkle the night before, to toll things up as tightly as possible so they would stay damp, and to tuck the pieces carefully like sardines into bushel baskets. It often took more than a day to iron the hand-embroidered flatwork, sheets, pillowcases, towels; and the dresses, gathered, ruffled, tucked, and pleated; the work shirts and the endless little rolls of spotless linens that came out of the seemingly bottomless baskets.

Willa Cather once wrote: "The one education which amounts to anything is learning how to do something well, whether it is to make a bookcase or write a book. If I could get a carpenter to make me some good bookcases, I would have as much respect for him as I have for the people whose books I want to put on them. Making something well is the principal end of education. I wish we could go back, but I am afraid we are going to become more and more mechanical." I do not wish, as she did, that we could "go back." But I am sorry that my daughters did not have the chance to observe a farm woman who did well and proudly what had to be done.

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21. SAND CREEK: BATTLE OR MASSACRE?

Introduction:

In this lesson, students evaluate historical accounts and testimony regarding the role of Colonel John Chivington at the Sand Creek Massacre. Sand Creek has been interpreted as both cause and effect in the Indian war of the 1860s. The controversy results from different interpretations regarding the point at which the war started. With the passage of time, some of the countless disputes that surround the battle have become as bitter as the battle itself.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Look at an historical event from multiple perspectives.

2. Analyze and evaluate documents related to the Sand Creek Massacre.

3. Compare sources and determine which sources are most useful in understanding the role of Colonel Chivington.

Time Required: 3-4 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 21-1 through 21-7 for all students. If you plan to have several trials run simultaneously, you may need to arrange for additional space and adult supervision for the fourth day of the lesson.

Procedure:

Day 1

1. Assign reading of Handout 21-1 as homework.

2. Tell students that they are going to prepare to participate in a mock trial of Colonel John Chivington by reading and analyzing documents related to events at Sand Creek. Explain that students will be using eyewitness accounts that provide conflicting evidence and opinion regarding Chivington's role and the appropriate response of the Army. Should he be accorded a hero's welcome or should he be tried for crimes against humanity?

3. Assign students to read documents 1-4 (Handout 21-2), underlining information that is most relevant to Chivington's role. In the margin, students should mark information and opinion that is favorable to him with a + and information and opinion that is harmful to him with a -. Have students go back through the documents and consider the strengths and limitations of the sources: Who said it? When was it said? How objective was the account?

Lesson developed by John Zola, New Vista High School, Boulder, Colorado.

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4. Discuss documents 1-4 using the questions on Handout 21-3; then have students complete analysis of the remaining documents (Handout 21-4).

5. Put a chart on the board with two columns: **Supportive of Chivington's Role** and **Critical of Chivington's Role**. Have students list arguments in both categories.

6. Divide the class into prosecution, defense, and judges teams. The panel of judges should include three students. Depending on the number of students in your class, you may want to have several groups taking each role. Several trials can then be conducted simultaneously.

7. Review the roles and courtroom procedure, using Handouts 21-5 and 21-6. The procedure for conducting the trial should be:

- Opening statements—three minutes each side.
- Prosecution will call three witnesses—three minutes each.
- Defense will call three witnesses.
- Closing statement by each side—two minutes each.
- Judges will confer (fishbowl the discussion so everyone can hear the judges' reasoning).
- Judges vote and present decision and reasoning of the court.

Allow a class period for preparation.

9. Debrief the trial, asking such questions as:

- How might historical perspective influence our view of the evidence?
- Which sources were most valuable?
- Are there any current issues that are similar to this?

10. As an evaluation activity, have students write position papers as to whether Sand Creek was a battle or massacre. Handout 21-7 may be useful to students in preparing their papers.

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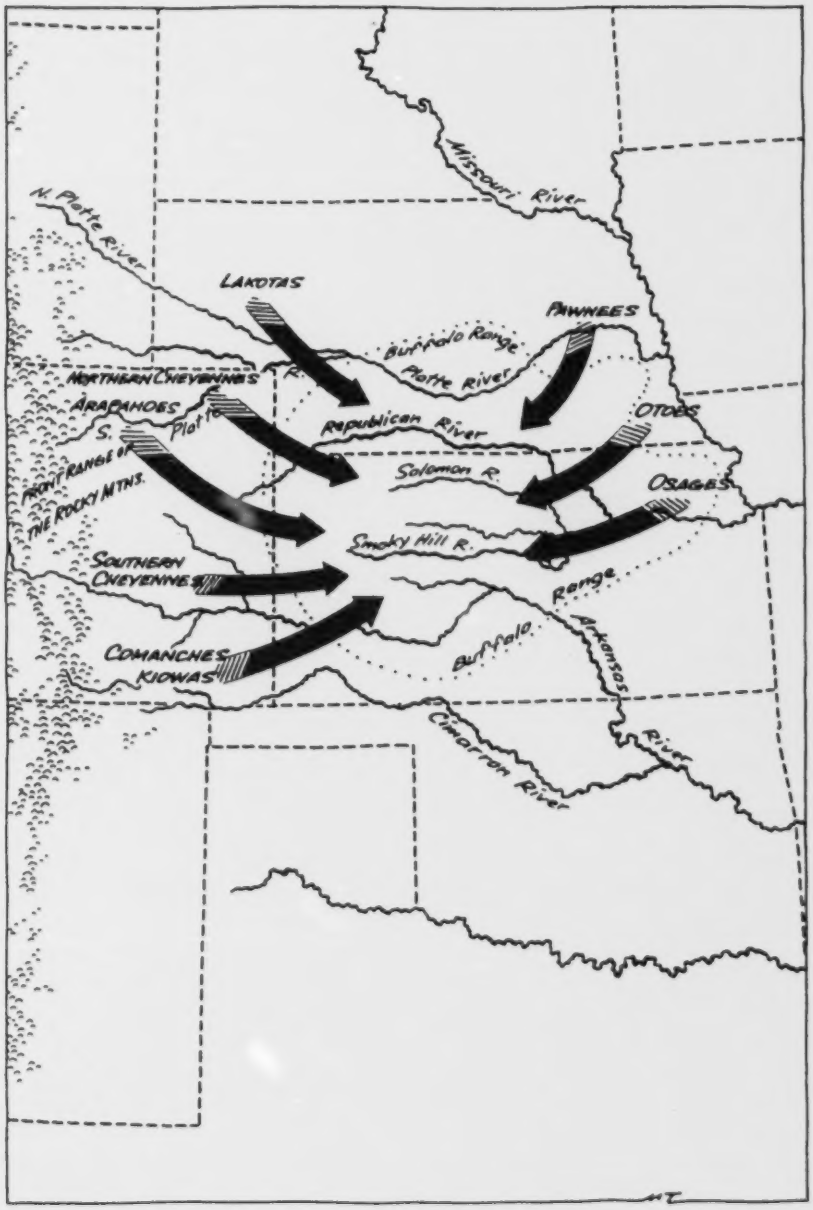
Background Information on Sand Creek



Bison Range and Neutral Ground, 1840s-1860s

From *The Way to the West* by Elliott West (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

To understand the episode that occurred at Sand Creek in November 1864, one must understand the dynamics of Indian-Anglo relations on the Great Plains—the almost endless grasslands between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains—during the three decades before.

The nomadic plains Indians' way of life depended heavily on hunting the vast buffalo herds that ranged throughout the plains. As they followed the seasonal movements of the buffalo herds,

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various tribes crossed paths, often resulting in conflicts. The conflicts arose over hunting grounds, raids for stealing horses (the primary measure of wealth among plains tribes) and other plunder, revenge for past conflicts, and other issues. For many tribes, warfare had become as important to their way of life as hunting. In several of these nations, warrior societies developed (for example, the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers), and fighting and bravery in combat became important social ideals, bringing prestige to both the individual warrior and his family.

After the 1820s, contacts between Anglo-Americans and the plains tribes increased. At the same time, several of the plains tribes were themselves expanding their domains. They were at the height of their power and prosperity. Various groups of Lakotas (Sioux), together with their Cheyenne and Arapahoe allies, had gained control of much of the northern plains. Meanwhile, the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had established control over the southern plains. (The line of division between the northern and southern plains was roughly the Arkansas River.)

In the 1820s and 1830s, white trappers and traders posed few problems for the plains Indians, even though there were occasional conflicts among them. By the 1840s, however, hundreds of whites began to pass through Indian country on their way to Oregon and, after the beginning of the gold rush in 1848, to California. The northern tribes in particular watched with increasing resentment as the migrants along the Platte River (Oregon) trail began to drive game away from their hunting grounds, to pollute their water sources, to deplete their wood supplies and grass forage, and to spread white diseases—measles, cholera, whooping cough, and other dread illnesses—among the Indians. Since the Sioux and their allies had expanded and maintained their hunting grounds against other plains tribes, they were certainly not prepared to stand meekly aside for the white intruders.

By 1850, as the flow of migrants West continued to increase, federal officials wanted to protect them from the tribes. In 1851, officials called all the northern plains tribes together for a conference. Its aim was to end intertribal warfare among the tribes and to make passage across the plains by white emigrants safer. The Treaty of Fort Laramie defined, for the first time, the tribal lands of each group. If whites were attacked by Indians on that land, the federal government would know which tribe to blame. It also bound Indians to quit making war on one another. The government could build roads and military posts within Indian lands. In return for these concessions, the government promised to protect the tribes from the whites and to pay $50,000 annually for the tribes' good behavior.

The Treaty of Fort Laramie was beset with problems from the beginning. Many of the chiefs did not sign the treaty, and those who signed did not understand its provisions. Even if they had understood it better, many members of their bands and tribes would not have agreed anyway. None of the plains tribes were united under any central authority. They were loose confederations of bands connected by marriage, common interest, and common culture. Decisions within the tribes occurred through consensus, not majority vote. When consensus could not be reached, decisions were postponed or simply not made. Dissenters could leave at any time, free to join another band or live and hunt alone.

With respect to this and other treaties with the whites, there were usually important divisions within tribes. Oftentimes, the elders wished to agree to treaties with the whites to ensure peace. Younger Indians, however, were not disposed to give up warfare, either with the whites or with their traditional tribal enemies. How else could the younger men prove their bravery in combat and expand their personal horse herds, the two most important aspects of social status? In

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the decade after the Treaty of Fort Laramie was signed, many conflicts continued among the Indian tribes and between whites and Indians as well.

Then, in 1859, prospectors found gold in the foothills of Colorado. As word of the discovery filtered back to the East, thousands of gold hunters joined the rush to the goldfields. They traveled to the region by several routes, all of which passed through the hunting grounds of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. The government therefore wanted a new treaty to replace the Treaty of Fort Laramie, especially its definition of Cheyenne and Arapahoe lands.

The Treaty of Fort Wise (1861) set aside lands between the Arkansas River and Sand Creek to serve as a reservation for the two tribes. They would give up the rest of the lands between the Arkansas and Platte Rivers that had been defined in the 1851 Treaty. The Treaty of Fort Wise suffered from the same problems that plagued most other treaties:

- The Indians did not understand what they had agreed to.
- Only a handful of Cheyenne and Arapahoe chiefs signed it.
- Not one Dog Soldier, the most powerful division of the Southern Cheyenne, signed the treaty.
- Not one Northern Cheyenne or Northern Arapahoe signed the treaty.

The fact that John Evans, Governor of Colorado Territory, continued to try to get other chiefs to sign the treaty was a recognition that this treaty had settled very little.

Meanwhile, the Civil War had begun back East. It drained the West of federal troopers and left much of the northern plains unprotected. In 1862, groups of Sioux in eastern Minnesota began attacking isolated white farms, trading posts, and settlements. Some 400 whites were killed, and hundreds more fled to the safety of military forts. Federal troops, rushed to the scene, quickly crushed the Sioux uprising. In 1863 and 1864, federal troopers also began offensive operations against the Sioux in Dakota Territory and on the upper Missouri River. In response, scattered groups of Indians attacked white travelers on both the Platte and Arkansas River trails.

Shock waves from these conflicts spread throughout the West and increased the anxiety of Indian attack among white settlers in many other places. In Colorado Territory, Governor Evans saw the outbreaks of Indian violence and their lack of cooperation concerning the Treaty of Fort Wise to stem from the same causes. He believed that the plains tribes had formed an alliance and planned to make war on all whites throughout the plains in 1864.

Evans therefore issued an order for all peaceful Indians on the Colorado plains to gather at either Fort Lyons, on the Arkansas River, or Camp Collins, on the Cache la Poudre River. He warned that all who did not obey his order would be considered "hostiles," and were subject to attack. Evans also issued the following statement:

> All citizens of Colorado, either individually or in such parties as they may organize, to go in pursuit of all hostile Indians on the plains, scrupulously avoiding those [Indians] who have responded to my call to rendezvous at the points indicated, also to kill and destroy as enemies of the country wherever they may be found, all such hostile Indians. And further, as the only reward I am authorized to offer for such services, I hereby empower such citizens, or parties of citizens, to take captive, and hold to their private use and benefit, all the property of said hostile Indians, that they may capture.

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Scattered outrages, on both sides, began to occur in June and July 1864, as whites attacked Indian bands and Indians attacked isolated ranches and travelers' wagons. The pace of these conflicts increased in August. Hysteria about an Indian war gripped many Coloradans. Evans appealed to Washington for permission to raise another company of volunteer troops for Indian duty. On August 13, Washington gave its permission to raise the Third Colorado Cavalry, to serve for 100 days and fight Indians.

The chiefs of various bands and tribes had mixed reactions to these events. Some wanted to continue to fight the whites because, as they saw it, the whites had started the war. The Cheyenne Dog Soldiers headed north to join the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne bands who wanted to resist white encroachments. Others such as Black Kettle of the Southern Cheyenne and Little Raven of the Southern Arapaho wanted peace. With the help of a sympathetic army officer, Major Edward Wynkoop, seven Indian leaders traveled to Denver to request safe passage for their people to the Fort Lyon area. When they arrived in Denver on September 28, they discovered that Governor Evans did not want to see them. Evans was afraid that he would look foolish if he arranged a peace with the Indians. This was so because he had recently been pleading for permission to raise a third volunteer company to deal with the Indian threat. Moreover, the decision for war or peace was largely in the hands of the army. General Samuel Curtis wired Evans (also on September 28) that "I want no peace till the Indians suffer more. No peace must be made without my directions."

For these reasons, it took Wynkoop some time to persuade Evans to meet with the Indian chiefs. The discussions went on for some time, during which Black Kettle said to Evans:

> ...Major Wynkoop proposed that we come to see you. All we ask is that we may have peace with the whites. These braves who are with me are willing to do what I say. We want to take good tidings home to our people, that they may sleep in peace. I want you to give all these chiefs of the soldiers here to understand that we are for peace, and that we have made peace, that we may not be mistaken by them for enemies.

After hours of discussion, Colonel John M. Chivington, the commander of the Colorado volunteers, said, "My rule of fighting white men or Indians is to fight them until they lay down their arms and submit to military authority. They are nearer to Major Wynkoop than anyone else, and they can go to him when they get ready to do that."

Whatever Chivington may have meant by these words, the Indian chiefs took them at face value. They could have peace by surrendering to Major Wynkoop at Fort Lyon. Trusting Wynkoop, the bands of Black Kettle and Little Raven did just that.

Little Raven and 113 lodges of his people arrived at Fort Lyon in mid-October. Wynkoop issued them army rations. In early November, Black Kettle and a small party of his band arrived at Fort Lyon from their 115-lodge camp on Sand Creek, 40 miles to the north. At this point, the Indians discovered that their friend Major Wynkoop was about to leave Fort Lyon. General Curtis had called him east to explain why he had given army rations to "hostiles" (the Arapahoes). Major Scott Anthony would take his place. The two majors explained that the army had too few rations to give the Indians and that they had to get permission to accept the Indians' surrender. Pending the outcome of these discussions, the Arapahoes should move away from the fort and hunt for their food. The Cheyennes should stay at their Sand Creek camp and also hunt for food. The Indians did as they were told.

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Views on the Events at Sand Creek

Document 1: Historian, Raymond G. Carey

A century ago a cavalry force clattered away from Fort Lyon and the Arkansas River one November evening and pushed steadily northward through the cold night across the bleak plains of eastern Colorado Territory. At the head of the column rode a bull-voiced giant, Colonel John M. Chivington, the commanding officer of the Military District of Colorado. The force was composed of around five hundred members of the Third Regiment, Colorado Volunteer Cavalry, an emergency unit organized for one hundred days of service, and about two hundred and fifty members of the more seasoned First Colorado Cavalry.

Early on the morning of November 29, 1864, that force attacked an Indian encampment located on a bend of Big Sandy, or Sand Creek, about nine miles north by east of the site of present-day Chivington, Colorado. The encampment, made up of approximately one hundred Cheyenne lodges and a few belonging to allied Arapahos, was estimated by some people who were present that day to have held no more than five hundred Indians, largely women and children. Others placed the total figure between eleven hundred and twelve hundred and judged that there were at least seven hundred warriors in the village.

The attack was made shortly after daybreak, and fighting continued until eleven o'clock according to some reports, until mid-afternoon or even later according to others. Ten soldiers were killed on the field or died of their wounds soon afterward, and about forty others were wounded. Battle reports announced that great numbers of Indian warriors, maybe as many as six or seven hundred, had been killed. The people of Colorado were overjoyed to hear of the victory, for they had lived in terror during the summer and autumn months while the tribesmen raided ranches and emigrant trains, butchered many whites, and carried off women and children into captivity. When the "hundred-daysters" of the Third Colorado returned to Denver to be mustered out, they were welcomed as heroes.

The brilliance of the victory became clouded a few months later when a number of traders, half-bloods, and military personnel contended before two congressional committees and a military commission that the Indians at Sand Creek were friendly and had reason to assume that they were under government protection, that more squaws and papooses than warriors had been killed, and that bodies of the dead had been savagely mutilated by the soldiers. The congressional committees denounced the attack as a dastardly massacre and Colonel Chivington as a monster and a murderer. Since he and his forces did not lack defenders and supporters, the controversy over Sand Creek was launched and has gone on for a hundred years.

Raymond G. Carey, "The Puzzle of Sand Creek," *Colorado Magazine* (Fall 1964), pp. 279-281.

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Document 2: George Bent

George Bent was the half-Cheyenne son of William Bent, Indian trader and owner of Bent's Fort. George Bent was staying with his mother's relatives at Sand Creek at the time of the attack; after the attack, in which he was wounded, he spent most of the next forty years with the Indians and fought with them against the whites.

The real causes of the Indian war on the plains were the wanton attacks made by the Colorado volunteers on friendly Indians east of Denver.

For some time Colonel Chivington had been stopping all travel down the Arkansas from Denver, to prevent word of his movement reaching our camp. He even stopped the mail. Then, late in November, he moved down the river to attack us. Leaving a guard at my father's ranch (twenty miles above Fort Lyon) he marched on to the Fort and at once threw a line of pickets about it, for he did not even trust the garrison and was afraid they might send someone out to warn us. That night he left the Fort with his own command and part of the garrison (some 750 men all)....

It was not light yet next morning when I was awakened by people shouting that soldiers were coming.... By the dim light I could see the soldiers charging down on the camp from each side. When I looked toward the chief's lodge I saw that Black Kettle had a flag up on a long pole, to show the troops that the camp was friendly; then the soldiers opened fire from all sides.

At first the people stood huddled in the village, but as the soldiers came on they broke and fled.... The main body of Indians retreated up the creek.... We passed a great many dead Indians lying in the wet sand of the creek's bottom; men, women and children lying together and many had already been scalped and mutilated by the Colorado One-Hundred-Days Men, Volunteer troops....

The fight needs little description, the soldiers simply shot at us and we shot back, using arrows mostly, for few of us had good guns. The fight lasted several hours and....the soldiers....killed women and children as well as men. Toward night Colonel Chivington drew off his men and returned to our camp, leaving us to retreat as best we might toward a big village of Cheyennes which was on the Smoky Hill, to the east of us.

This was the largest slaughter of Indians ever made on the plains, about 150 (three-fourths of them women and children) being killed.

George Bent, "Sand Creek: An Eyewitness Account, or Half-Breed Warrior Defends Terrors of Western Plains," *Denver Times*, 2 November 1905.

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Document 3: Report of Colonel Chivington to General Wheeler

Headquarters District of
Colorado in the Field,
On Big Bend of Sandy Creek,
Colorado Territory
November 29, 1864

Charles Wheeler
A.A.A. General
Headquarters District of Colorado
Denver, Colorado

Dear Sir:

I have not the time to give you a detailed history of our engagement of today or to mention those officers and men who distinguished themselves in one of the most bloody Indian battles ever fought on these plains. You will find enclosed the report of my surgeon in charge, which will bring to many anxious friends the sad fate of loved ones, who are and have been risking everything to avenge the horrid deeds of those savages we have so severely handled. We made a forced march of forty miles and surprised, at break of day, one of the most powerful villages of the Cheyenne nation, and captured over five hundred animals; killing the celebrated chiefs One Eye, White Antelope, Knock-Knee, Black Kettle, and Little Robe, with about five hundred of their people, destroying all their lodges and equipage making almost an annihilation of the entire tribe.

I shall leave here, as soon as I can see our wounded safely on the way to the hospital at Fort Lyon, for the villages of the Sioux, which are reported about eighty miles from here on the Smoky Hill, and three thousand strong-so look out for more fighting. I will state for the consideration of gentlemen who are opposed to fighting these red scoundrels, that I was shown by my chief surgeon the scalp of a white man, taken from the lodge of one of the chiefs, which could not have been more than two or three days taken; and I could mention many more things to show how these Indians, who have been drawing government rations at Fort Lyon, are and have been acting.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. M. Chivington
Colonel, Commanding Colorado Expedition
against Indians on Plains

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Document 4: Letter from Major Scott J. Anthony, Commanding Officer at Fort Lyon

Sand Creek,
25 miles from Fort Lyon
December 1, 1864

Dear Webb:

I am here with the command. We have just had, day before yesterday, an Indian fight. We have nearly annihilated Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes and Left-Hand's Arapahos.

I did my share, and I think my command did as well as any in the whole brigade notwithstanding I lost one man killed and two slightly wounded; I was one of the first in the fight and among the last to leave, and my loss is less than any other battalion. We have forty-seven persons killed and wounded.

I will give particulars when I see you. We start for another band of redskins, and shall fight differently next time. I never saw more bravery displayed by any set of people on the face of the earth than by those Indians. They would charge on a whole company singly, determined to kill some one before being killed themselves. We of course, took no prisoners, except John Smith's son....

Lieutenant Baldwin, of my command, lost his horse. I had one horse shot under me, but came off with a whole "hide." I did not sleep for three days and two nights until last evening.

S.J. Anthony

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Evaluating Testimony: The Events at Sand Creek

In analyzing historical documents, you want to know whether the person who created the document was in a position to know about the events being written about and whether he or she was being truthful. Considering the following questions may help you determine whether you believe the information in the document is accurate.

- Who created the document? What was his/her title or position? What was his/her role in the events?
- When was the account written—during or soon after the events written about or after significant time had elapsed?
- Where was the author when the events occurred? Did he or she actually see the events described?
- Why was the document created? What was the author's motivation?
- What type of account is the document—an entry in a personal diary, a letter to a friend, a sermon, a magazine article, a sworn statement? Does the specific kind of document suggest anything about its accuracy?

You should also consider the language used by the document's author. The way the author uses words may indicate his/her educational level, as well as prejudices or biases.

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More Views on Events at Sand Creek

Document 5: Report of Major Wynkoop to Lieutenant Tappan

January 16, 1865

J. E. Tappan
AAA General
District of Upper Arkansas

From evidence of officers at this post Fort Lyon I understand that on the 18th day of November, 1864, Colonel J. M. Chivington, with the 3rd regiment of Colorado cavalry arrived at this post, ordered a portion of the garrison to join him, under the command of Major Scott J. Anthony, against the remonstrances of the officers of the post, who stated circumstances of which he was well aware, attacked the camp of the friendly Indians, the major portion of which were composed of women and children.... Any one whom I have spoken to, whether officers or soldiers, agree in the relation that the most fearful atrocities were committed that were ever heard of women and children were killed and scalped, children were shot at their mother's breast, and all the bodies mutilated in the most horrible manner.... Colonel J. M. Chivington all the time inciting his troops to these diabolical outrages previous to the slaughter; commencing, he addressed his command, arousing in them by his language, all their worst passions, urging them on to the work of committing all these diabolical outrages, knowing himself all the circumstances of these Indians resting on the assurances of protection from the government given them by myself and Major S. J. Anthony; he kept his command in entire ignorance of the same, and when it was suggested that such might be the case, he denied it positively, stating that they were still continuing their depredations and lay there threatening the fort.... Two-thirds or more of that Indian village were women and children.... I have been informed by Captain Booth, district inspector, that he visited the field and counted but sixty-nine bodies, and by others who were present, but that few, if any, over that number were killed, and that two-thirds of them were women and children.

I beg leave to further state, for the information of the colonel commanding, that I talked to every officer in Fort Lyon, and many enlisted men, and that they unanimously agree that all the statements I have made in this report are correct. In conclusion, allow me to say that from the time I held the consultation with the Indian chiefs on the headwaters of Smoky Hill (In late September) up to the date of the massacre by Colonel Chivington, not one single depredation had been committed by the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians; the settlers of the Arkansas valley had returned to their camps and had been resting in perfect security, under assurances from myself that they would be in no danger for the present....the lines of communication to the States were opened, and travel across the plains rendered perfectly safe through the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country.

Document 6: D. D. Colley, Trader

....The inspector of the district went with me to Fort Lyon, and he went out to the battle-field. The bodies were lying there then. They spent half a day on the battle-field, and found 69 bodies....

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The Inspector told me that about three-fourths of them were women and children.

U.S. House of Representatives, 38th Congress, 2nd session, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," *Report on the Conduct of the War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 16.

Document 7: John S. Smith, Trader

John Smith was the resident Indian trader at Fort Lyon. On November 25, Major Anthony had given Smith permission to visit the encampment at Sand Creek and had provided him with an army ambulance to transport his trade goods and an army private to act as driver. Smith's half-Indian son Jack was killed on November 24—killed, according to some reports, after he had surrendered and was being held captive by the soldier.

I think about seventy or eighty, including men, women, and children were killed twenty-five or thirty of them were warriors probably, and the rest women, children, boys, and old men....

All manner of depredations were inflicted on their persons....

It would be hard for me to tell who did these things. I saw some of the first Colorado regiment committing some very bad acts there on the persons of the Indians and I likewise saw some of the one-hundred-day men in the same kind of business.

U.S. Senate, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, "The Chivington Massacre," *Reports of the Committees*, Senate No. 156 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 4.

Document 8: Robert Bent, Guide

Robert Bent, the eldest son of William Bent, had been asleep on his own ranch near Spring bottom when the army passed through on its way to Sand Creek. According to his own account, he was rousted out of bed by Chivington's men and forced to guide the expedition to the Indian encampment, Chivington apparently distrusting Jim Beckwourth.

....When we came in sight of the camp I saw the American flag waving and heard Black Kettle tell the Indians to stand around the flag, and there they were huddled—men, women, and children. This was when we were within fifty yards of the Indians. I also saw a white flag raised. These flags were in so conspicuous a position that they must have been seen. When the troops fired, the Indians ran, some of the men into their lodges, probably to get their arms. They had time to get away if they had wanted to.... I think there were six hundred Indians in all. I think there were thirty-five braves and some old men, about sixty in all. All fought well. At the time the rest of the men were away from camp, hunting....

After firing, the warriors put the squaws and children together, and surrounded them to protect them. I saw five squaws under a bank for shelter. When the troops came up to them they ran out and showed their persons to let the soldiers know they were squaws and begged for mercy, but the soldiers shot them all. I saw one squaw lying on the bank whose leg had been broken by

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a shell; a soldier came up to her with a drawn saber; she raised her arm to protect herself, when he struck, breaking her arm; she rolled over and raised her other arm, when he struck, break it, and then left her without killing her. There seemed to be indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children. There were some thirty or forty squaws collected in a hold for protection; they sent out a little girl about six years old with a white flag on a stick; she had not proceeded but a few steps when she was shot and killed. All the squaws in that hold were afterwards killed, and four or five bucks outside. The squaws offered no resistance. Everyone I saw dead was scalped. I saw one squaw cut open with an unborn child, as I thought, lying by her side. Captain Soul afterwards told me that such was the case.... I saw a little girl about five years of age who had been hid in the sand; two soldiers discovered her, drew their pistols and shot her, and then pulled her out of the sand by the arm. I saw quite a number of infants in arms killed with their mothers....

I visited the battleground one month afterwards; saw the remains of a good many; counted sixty-nine, but a number had been eaten by the wolves and dogs....

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," pp. 73, 95.

Document 9: George M. Roan, Soldier, Company C, First Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

I saw a camp of Indians, and the stars and stripes waving over the camp.

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 142.

Document 10: Presley Talbott, Captain, Third Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

I did not see any flags displayed by the Indians.

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 68.

Document 11: Jacob Downing, Major, First Regiment, Colorado Calvary

My own belief is, that there were some five hundred or six hundred Indians killed; I counted two hundred and odd Indians within a very short distance of where their village stood, most of whom were in these trenches, and Indians were killed five and six miles from the village; but of the two hundred killed, I counted about twelve or fifteen women and a few children, who had been killed in the trenches. I did not see any flag over the village, but afterwards, saw a man with a small flag, who said he got it out of a lodge... I saw no soldier scalping anybody, but saw one or two bodies which evidently had been scalped... I saw no mutilated bodies besides scalping, but heard that some bodies had been mutilated. I don't know that I saw any squaw that had been scalped.

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre."

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Document 12: James Connor, Lieutenant, First Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

In going over the battleground the next day I did not see a body of man, woman, or child that was not scalped, and in many instances their bodies were mutilated in the most horrible manner.... I heard a man say that he had cut the fingers off an Indian to get the rings on the hand; according to the best of my knowledge and belief these atrocities that were committed were with the knowledge of J. M. Chivington, and I do not know of his taking any measures to prevent them; I heard of one instance of a child a few months old being thrown into the feedbox of a wagon, and after being carried some distance left on the ground to perish...

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 53.

Document 13: Dr. Caleb S. Burdsal, Assistant Surgeon, Third Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

....A soldier came to the opening of the lodge and called my attention to some white scalps he held in his hand; my impression, after examination, was that two or three of them were quite fresh; I saw in the hands of soldiers silk dresses and other garments belonging to women... I did not see any Indian scalped, but saw the bodies after they were scalped; I saw no other mutilations; I did not see any kind of flag in the Indian camp.... I know of none being killed after being taken prisoner....

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 72.

Document 14: Thaddeus P. Bell, Soldier

I saw a good many white scalps there (at Sand Creek). The number, I have not any idea how many. There were those that looked quite old, as if they might have been taken a considerable time; others not so long, and one that was quite fresh, not over from five to eight days old at the furtherest... The fresh scalp was from a red-haired man.

U.S. Senate, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, "Sand Creek Massacre," Senate Executive Document No. 26 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 223.

Document 15: Joseph A. Cramer, Second Lieutenant, First Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

I estimated the loss of Indians to be from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and seventy-five killed; no wounded fell into our hands, and all the dead were scalped. It is a mistake that there were any white scalps found in the village. I saw one, but it was very old, the hair being much faded. I was ordered to burn the village, and was through all the lodges. There was not any snow on the ground, and no rifle pits.

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 73.

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Document 16: Stephen Decatur, Sergeant, Third Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

The next day after the battle I went over the battleground, in the capacity of clerk, for Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, and counted four hundred and fifty dead Indian warriors... As I was going out to get some of the lodgepoles for wood, I saw some of the men opening bundles or bales. I saw them take therefrom a number of white persons' scalps — men's, women's, and children's; some daguerro-types, ladies' wearing apparel and white children's and was part of a lady's toilet and one box of rouge, also a box containing a powder puff. I saw one scalp of a white woman in particular... I saw, comparatively speaking, a small number of women killed...

There were a great many of them (rifle pits), I did not count the number; they were deep enough for men to lie down and conceal themselves, and load their guns in; some of them I should think deeper than three feet.

U.S. Senate, "Sand Creek Massacre," p. 195.

Document 17: Asbury Bird, Soldier, Company D, First Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

I went over the ground soon after the battle. I should judge there were between 400 and 500 Indians killed. I counted 350 lying up and down the creek... The scalps were carried away mostly by the 3rd regiment, one-hundred-day men.

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 72.

Document 18: Lucien Palmer, Sergeant, Company C, First Regiment, Colorado Cavalry

I counted 130 bodies, all dead; two squaws and three papooses were captured and brought to Fort Lyon. I think among the dead bodies one-third were women and children... All I saw done in mutilating bodies was done by members of the 3rd regiment.

U.S. Senate, "The Chivington Massacre," p. 74.

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The Trial of Colonel John Chivington

Defense and Prosecution Instructions

THE CHARGE: Col. Chivington engaged in reckless misconduct during the encounter at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864, while leading his troops against the Indians.

1. Lawyers: _____

   _____

2. Group Witnesses: _____

   _____

   _____

3. Our main arguments will be:

   A. _____

   _____

   B. _____

   _____

   C. _____

   _____

4. We expect the other group's main arguments to be:

   A. _____

   _____

   B. _____

   _____

   C. _____

   _____

5. Prepare to present *your* case and to argue against the other group's ideas and information. Only facts from the readings will be allowed in this trial.

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The Trial of Colonel John Chivington

Judge's Instructions

As judges, you have a very great responsibility. Both sides are counting on your being knowledgeable and good listeners. You will have to sort out the information that is presented to you, ask clarifying questions, and finally make a decision. Please keep one major rule in mind: **No matter what your personal opinion is, you may only decide this debate on the information presented to you. The case that is best presented wins.**

The following suggestions should help you in your role as judges:

1. You must know both sides of the issue. Read documents carefully, take notes, and prepare questions to ask both sides.
2. Think about the key issues that each side needs to raise.
3. When conducting the trial:
   - Insist on quiet when people are speaking.
   - Insist that speakers *always* identify the source of any information presented. Ignore information if they don't.
   - Be fair—get a response from one side, then the next, and so on.
   - A majority vote decides these issues 2-1 or 3-0.

VERDICT

We, _____, _____,

_____ find the defendant, Col. John Chivington, guilty/not guilty of the charge of reckless misconduct during the encounter at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864, while leading his troops against the Indians.

Signed:

_____

_____

_____

Date _____

Period _____

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Sand Creek Questions

1. What events led up to the battle/massacre?

2. Who started the battle/massacre?

3. What happened at the battle/massacre?

4. Were the Cheyenne and Arapaho friendly or hostile? What evidence supports your answer?

5. How many Cheyenne and Arapaho were killed?

6. What percentage of the Cheyenne and Arapaho killed were men who were warriors/hunters?

7. What percentage killed were women and children?

8. Was Sand Creek a battle or a massacre? Explain your answer.

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V.

THE WEST AS REGION: PLACE, LANDSCAPE, AND ENVIRONMENT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

22. SECOND VIEW: 19TH-CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHS VIEWED FROM THE 20TH CENTURY

Introduction:

This lesson features pairs of photographs of the landscape of the American West taken 100 years apart. Each pair provides information about natural and humanmade changes that occurred at a particular site that a 19th-century photographer thought worthy of recording. When paired with a picture that a 20th-century photographer carefully rephotographed, the site becomes a source for historical investigation.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Analyze photographs to gather evidence of cultural and environmental changes between the 1870s and the 1970s.

2. Evaluate rephotography (remaking of historical photographs) as a source of historical evidence and cultural perspective.

Time Required: 1 class period plus homework and projects outside of class

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 22-1 and 22-2 for all students.

Procedure:

1. Have students survey relevant chapters in their textbooks and make a list of all the photographs they think were taken of the American West in the 19th century. To the degree possible, check the credits to determine which pictures fit the criterion. Have students hypothesize reasons that photographers were taking pictures of the American West.

2. Provide some background on the rephotographic process using Handout 22-1.

3. Tell students they will have an opportunity to study three sets of photographs and evaluate what could be learned from this type of historical documentation. Distribute Handout 22-2 and discuss the three pairs of photographs using the questions that follow:

Adapted from a lesson developed by Leigh Campbell-Hale, Southern Hills Middle School, Boulder, Colorado.

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Pair A

"Quartz Mill near Virginia City," Tim O'Sullivan, 1868
"Site of the Gould and Curry Mine near Virginia City," Mark Klett, 1979
Ask:

- These two pictures were taken near Virginia City, Nevada, a hundred years apart. Which do you think was taken first and why? (The photograph with the mill is the older picture. The later photographer had difficulty finding the site because there was no horizon in the picture and the older residents had no memory of the mill.)
- Where did the mill go? (The mill was probably moved when the deposit was completely extracted. The photograph is the only record of the mill's existence.)

Pair B

"White House Mountain, Elk Lake," William Henry Jackson, 1873
"Snowmass Mountain and Geneva Lake, CO," Mark Klett and JoAnn Verburg, 1977
Ask:

- Which picture in this pair was taken first?
- What changes might have occurred that cannot be seen by the camera? (For example: the pH balance in the water may have changed in a hundred years; the number of visitors who come each day. In 1977, the photographer had difficulty keeping sleeping bags and tents out of the picture.)
- There are more trees in the more recent picture. Why? Were did the dead trees go?

Pair C

"Hanging Rock, foot of Echo Canyon," Andrew J. Russel, 1868
"Hanging Rock, foot of Echo Canyon, Utah," Rick Dingus, 1978
Ask:

- List the changes you see in the photographs. Pick two changes and develop an explanation for those changes. (These pictures document many changes. The smaller rock was removed when a road was constructed. The entire river changed course in response to the advent of Interstate 80.)

4. Following presentation and discussion of the photos, provide students with an opportunity to reflect on what these photographs say about changes within the American West.

5. Close the lesson by asking students to plan (and possibly complete) a rephotography exercise modeled after *Second View* methodology. The original photography could be from their family album or a local newspaper. *Second View* provides technical advice on how to find the vantage point and complete research on the photographer and a particular site. After students take their photographs, ask them to write reflective essays on what they learned from the experience.

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Photography and Rephotography of the American West

In the 1870s, the U.S. Geological Survey sent teams, including photographers such as William Henry Jackson, to chart vast areas of the American West. Their mission was to explore and accurately describe the territory. The photographs had meaning beyond the descriptive purpose. The photographs were seen in the larger cultural context of the 19th century—a world that reflected a philosophy of Manifest Destiny. People who couldn't get West wanted to know what it was like. The photographs also reflected the aesthetic standards of their era.

In the 1970s a group of photographers set out to survey some of the pictures taken 100 years earlier. In revisiting the sites of the 19th-century photos, they tried to show the American West from the perspective of their earlier counterpart. In total, they repeated 120 photographs. Their goal was to show that the meaning of the photographs lies within the interaction between ourselves, our culture, and the image in question. The photographs were published in a book entitled *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).

In one of the essays in *Second View*, Paul Berger explores the cultural meaning behind the photographs of William Henry Jackson. He writes: "...the truth of his expression might best be assigned to the eye of the dominant cultural sense of what constitutes a well-composed landscape image specifically, and to a Manifest Destiny sense of grandeur generally. (It's beautiful—and its ours.) Jackson's specific framing of his subject matter was necessarily informed by his 19th-century compositional sensibilities" (p. 52).

The rephotographers relied on geometry to establish the *vantage point* (placing cameras in the exact spot where 19th-century photographs were taken) through extensive research of field notes, old maps, travel itineraries, and captions. They also traveled many miles, interviewed people, and read about the photographers.

In completing the project, they found that many of the geographic names of places had been changed as had the landscape. The process of retaking photographs also caused the photographers to look at the West in new ways.

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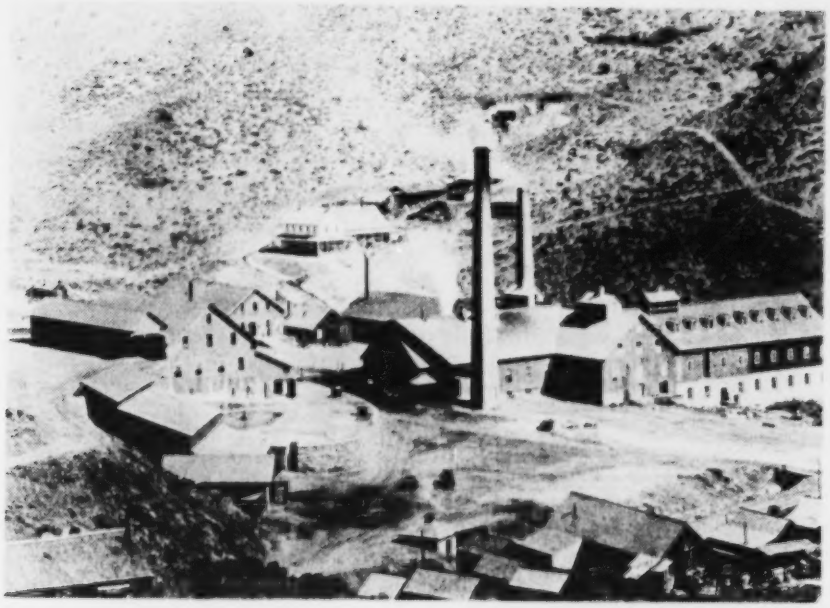
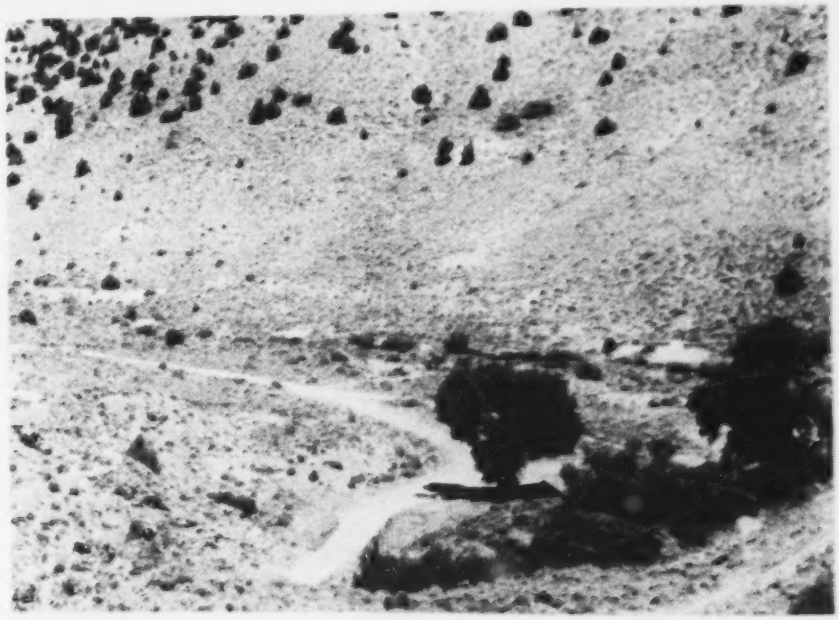
Rephotographing the West

Pair A



Timothy O'Sullivan, 1868. Quartz Mill near Virginia City. (United States Geological Survey.)



Mark Klett for the Rephotographic Survey Project, 1979. Site of the Gould and Curry Mine, Virginia, City. Nev.

Source: *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project*, by Mark Klett and others (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 1984.

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Part B

William Henry Jackson, 1873. White House Mountain, Elk Lake. (United States Geological Survey.)

Mark Klett and JoAnn Verburg, for the Rephotographic Survey Project, 1977. Snowmass Mountain and Geneva Lake, Colo.

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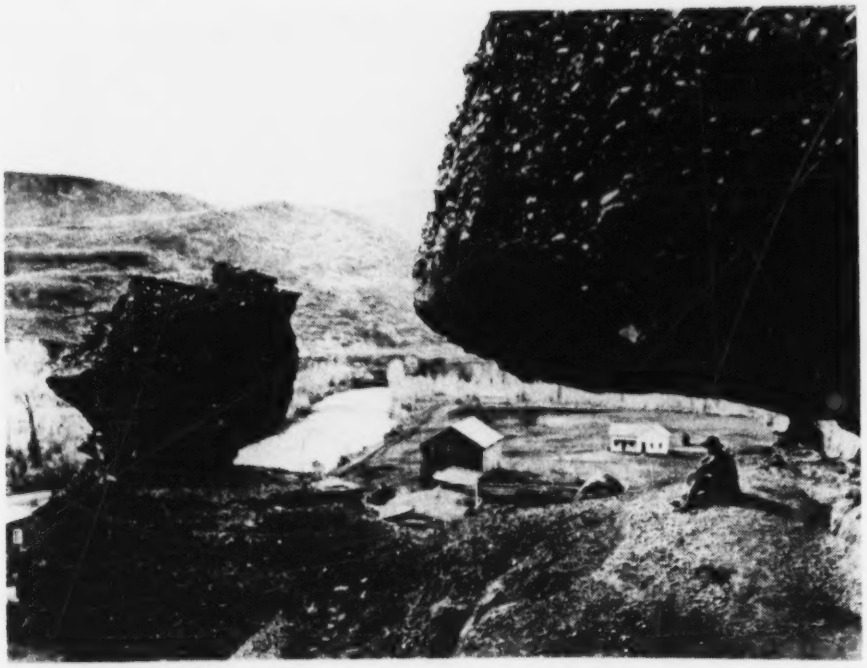
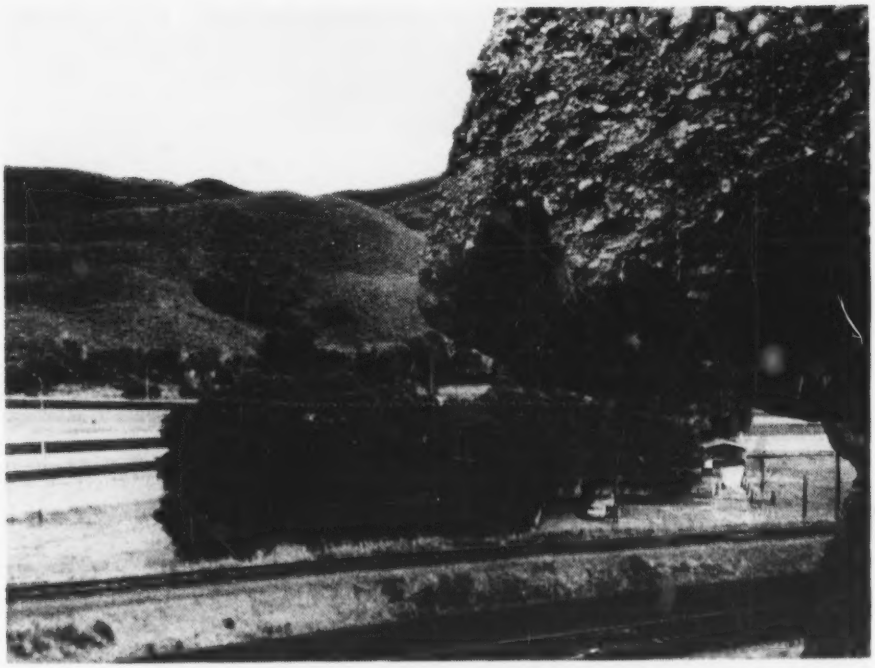
Part C



Andrew J. Russell, 1868. Hanging Rock, foot of Echo Cañon. (Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.)



Rick Dingus for the Rephotographic Survey Project, 1978. Hanging Rock, foot of Echo Canyon, Utah.

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23. SPANISH/MEXICAN LAND GRANTS: CONTROVERSY ON A COLORADO MOUNTAIN

Introduction:

This lesson is designed to help students understand how problems can arise when differing legal systems of land ownership collide. Students learn about the purpose and procedures for making land grants, how land grant claims were settled, and the problems remaining from a long history of litigation.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Describe the purpose and nature of land grants made by the Spanish and Mexican governments.

2. Compare Mexican and American systems of land ownership.

3. Analyze how contrasting systems can create problems of fairness when deciding legal title to land.

Time Required: 2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Copies of Handouts 23-1 through 23-4 for all students.

Procedure:

1. Introduce the lesson by asking the class to brainstorm a list of reasons why land ownership is important. Record their responses on the board. Decide which of the ideas listed most reflect our attitudes today and which might reflect attitudes 100 years ago.

2. Distribute Handout 23-1. Allow students time to read the sections "The Purpose of Land Grants" and "Types of Land Grants." Begin to develop a vocabulary list of the words or concepts students find most difficult to understand; define the terms. Discuss the general content of the material.

3. Divide the class into groups of three. Distribute Handout 23-2. Allow time for students to plan a fair system of land distribution on their land grant as directed on the handout. After groups have finished, ask them to share their plans with the rest of the class. Ask the class to think of fair ways of settling disputes arising from ownership, use, and transfer of lands among persons living on the grant. Ask them to think about what might happen if, suddenly, their land became part of another country with differing ideas about ownership and transfer of land.

Lesson developed by Ken Rodriguez, Center for Civic Education.

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4. Allow the class to finish reading Handout 23-1, this time concentrating on the section "Land Grants and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." Continue to develop vocabulary as needed. Divide the class into small groups to answer the questions in the "What Do You Think?" section of the material. Discuss their responses as a class.

5. Distribute Handout 23-3. Again, allow time for students to read the background material and develop a vocabulary list. Ask the class to develop a flowchart illustrating the procedure for settling a claim submitted to the court. Discuss the questions in the "What Do You Think?" section of the material. (**Note:** Students could read the handout and prepare the flowchart as homework.)

6. Tell students that disputes related to differing views of land ownership still arise in the Southwest. Ask groups to read the case study provided in Handout 23-4 and discuss the roots of the dispute and how it might be resolved. Can a resolution be reached that will be fair to both sides?

You may want to inform students that the dispute between Zachary Taylor and the residents of Costilla County remains unresolved as of fall 1995. Local residents have attempted to buy the ranch, with assistance from the state, but a fair purchase price has not been negotiated, and the state has now adopted a "wait and see" attitude. Meanwhile, Taylor's announcement in March 1995 that he planned to resume commercial logging on the ranch has aroused the ire of local residents, who see logging as a threat to the watershed on which they rely.

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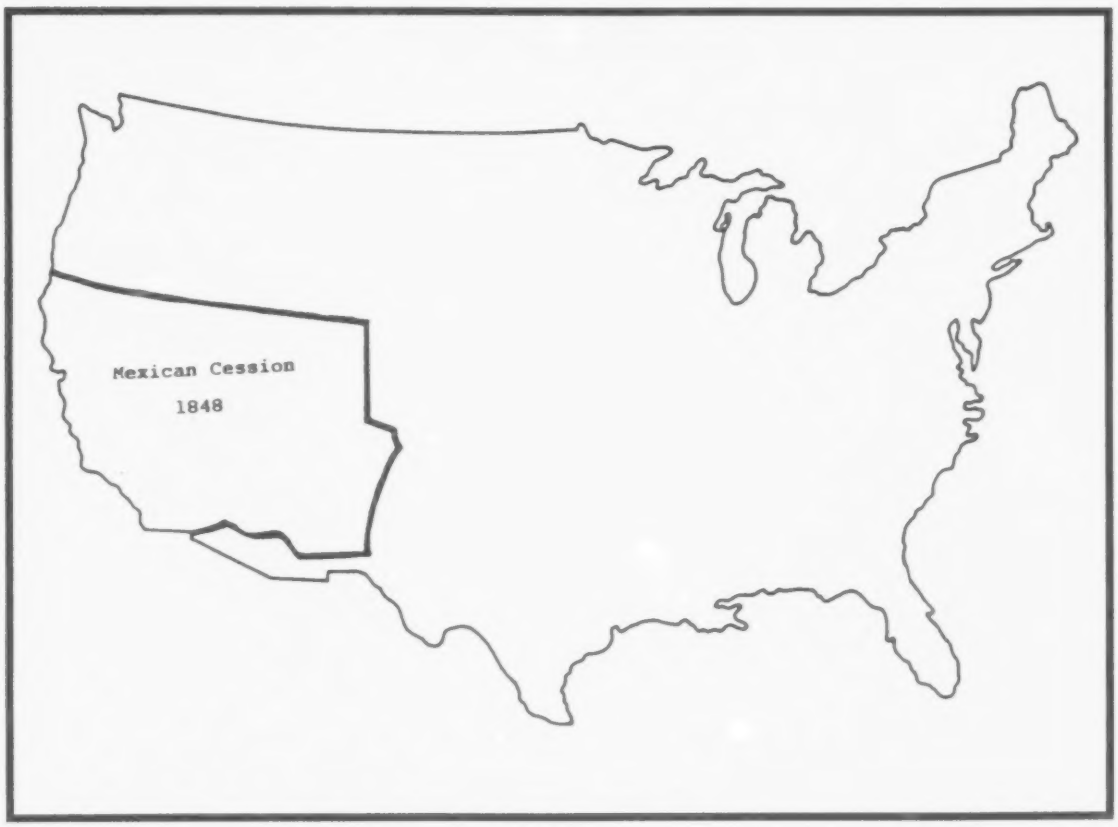
Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in the Southwest



Purpose of Land Grants

Offering free land was one way to stimulate settlement on new frontiers. Free land encouraged settlement in remote areas threatened by invasion from other countries. Gifts of land were also used as rewards for services performed for one's government.

Spain ruled what is today the southwestern United States between 1598 and 1821. To protect this remote region of its empire, the crown encouraged people to settle there. Spanish policy was to give settlers free land from the *public domain*, that is, land owned by the government.

The Law of the Indies was the Spanish law in the New World. It was a special code of laws that applied only to Spain's colonies. The Law of the Indies set the rules for granting land to individuals or groups. The Republic of Mexico basically followed the same rules when it governed the Southwest between 1821 and 1848. The Mexican Congress passed the first colonization law in 1824. This law invited persons from any country to settle in the Southwest and allowed grants as large as eleven square leagues (one square league = nine square miles). Mexico passed another law in 1828 authorizing certain government officials to grant land from the public domain. The law also set important requirements for settling and farming the land.

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Types of Land Grants

The Law of the Indies and Mexican law recognized three types of land grants:

Community Grants gave land to groups of settlers who wished to start a new town. Each settler received a home site and irrigated land. Settlers had to live on their lots for ten years. The law required them jointly to erect a wall or to dig a ditch around the settlement to protect against Indian attacks. The grant included a large area of common lands for all settlers to graze their herds and to gather firewood. No one person owned the common land, but all had the right to use it and all agreed to care for it.

Private Grants gave land to individuals who promised to find settlers, distribute homesites and farmland, and construct defenses, irrigation canals, and a church. The laws on private grants were less detailed. They required the grantee to respect the property rights of the Indians already occupying the land. Any minerals or mines on the land remained the property of the government. If a grantee did not meet the requirements of the grant, the land returned to the government.

Pueblo Indian Grants gave the Indians title to the lands they occupied or used. The basis for Pueblo land grants came from a royal decree of 1687. The king allowed the Pueblos to claim four square leagues of land, measured from the church. During the Mexican period, the Pueblo Indians became citizens of Mexico. As citizens, they could sell their land, but few, if any, actually did.

From the beginning, one of the problems of the Spanish and Mexican land grants was that their boundaries were unclear. Boundaries followed landmarks, such as a hill, a stream, or a rock. Sometimes the descriptions just said, "east of the Martinez property." Such unclear boundaries led to frequent disputes over ownership of land.

Land Grants and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Wah-dah-lóo-pay Ee-dáhl-go)

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 ended the war between Mexico and the United States. A *treaty* is an agreement between two or more nations. The *law of nations* (customary law that applies to relationships between countries) makes agreements in a treaty binding on the parties. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo transferred ownership of northern Mexico to the United States. This territory included what is now California, Nevada, and Utah, and parts of Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. By terms of the treaty, Mexico received $15 million for the land. The treaty was important because the United States agreed to grant citizenship to the people living in the Southwest and to honor their rights to liberty and property.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

Article 8. Mexicans now established in territories...shall be free to continue where they now reside...retaining the property which they possess....

Article 9. The Mexicans...shall be incorporated into the union of the United States...to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States...[and] shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property....

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When the U.S. Senate approved the treaty, it struck out Article 10. This article said that land grants would remain valid if they were valid under Mexican law. The article provided a fair process to confirm land grant claims. The Mexican Congress, when it ratified the treaty, attached a document, called a *protocol*, replacing Article 10. Whether the protocol became part of the treaty is not clear. It was never ratified by the Senate. The president advised the Senate that it was not necessary to ratify the protocol.

Protocol of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

Article 2. The American Government by suppressing the 10th Article of the Treaty of Guadalupe, did not in any way intend to annul the grants of land made by Mexico....These grants...preserve the legal value which they may possess, and the grantees may cause their legitimate titles to be acknowledged before the American tribunals.... legitimate titles to every description of property, personal and real, existing in the ceded territories are those which were legitimate titles under the Mexican law....

Like the Constitution, treaties made by the United States become the supreme law of the land. The actions of the government or other laws made by Congress may not violate the provisions of a treaty.

The problem facing the U.S. government and the people in the ceded territory was to determine which land was the property of individual citizens and which was part of the public domain. Some scholars of this period say the United States expected to get most of the land it was paying for.

What Do You Think?

1. What issues of fairness might arise from the policy of using land to promote settlement and to reward people for their services?

2. What are the benefits of using land grants to promote settlement? Find examples that show how the U.S. government used land to encourage settlement on the frontier.

3. What problems might arise from the policy of using land to promote settlement?

4. What might have been fair or unfair about the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Protocol to the treaty?

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Planning to Settle a Land Grant

The governor of the territory has awarded you a 70,000-acre grant of land. When you asked the government for the land, you stated that you wanted to establish towns, farm, and raise cattle and sheep. You also stated that the first group of settlers would include yourself and 58 other families.

The map on the following page represents your grant. In accordance with the law, you have been placed in possession of your land. Now, you need to develop a plan for establishing the 59 families on the land and for setting up your economic activities. Work with two other students. On your map, plot out the following:

- A townsite(s) giving each family a plot of land for building a home. Your townsite should provide for important public buildings such as a church. Also provide a means for defending your settlement.
- Separate farming plots for each family. You should provide a system for crop irrigation and water for domestic use. The land receives little rainfall during the summer months. The water supply is dependent on the small streams that flow out of the mountains carrying the melting snow. During years when the snow pack is light, the streams run dry.
- An area of common land where all families may graze two or three cows and a few sheep.
- An area of common land where all families may gather firewood and timber for building houses. Other activities on this common will include grazing larger herds of cattle and sheep, hunting, and fishing.

You may also want to think about how you will provide for future settlers who may want to come to your community. How will they be accommodated? What rights to the land will they have?

Try to make your system of land distribution as fair as possible for all members of the community.

When your group has finished its work, you will be asked to share your plan with the class.

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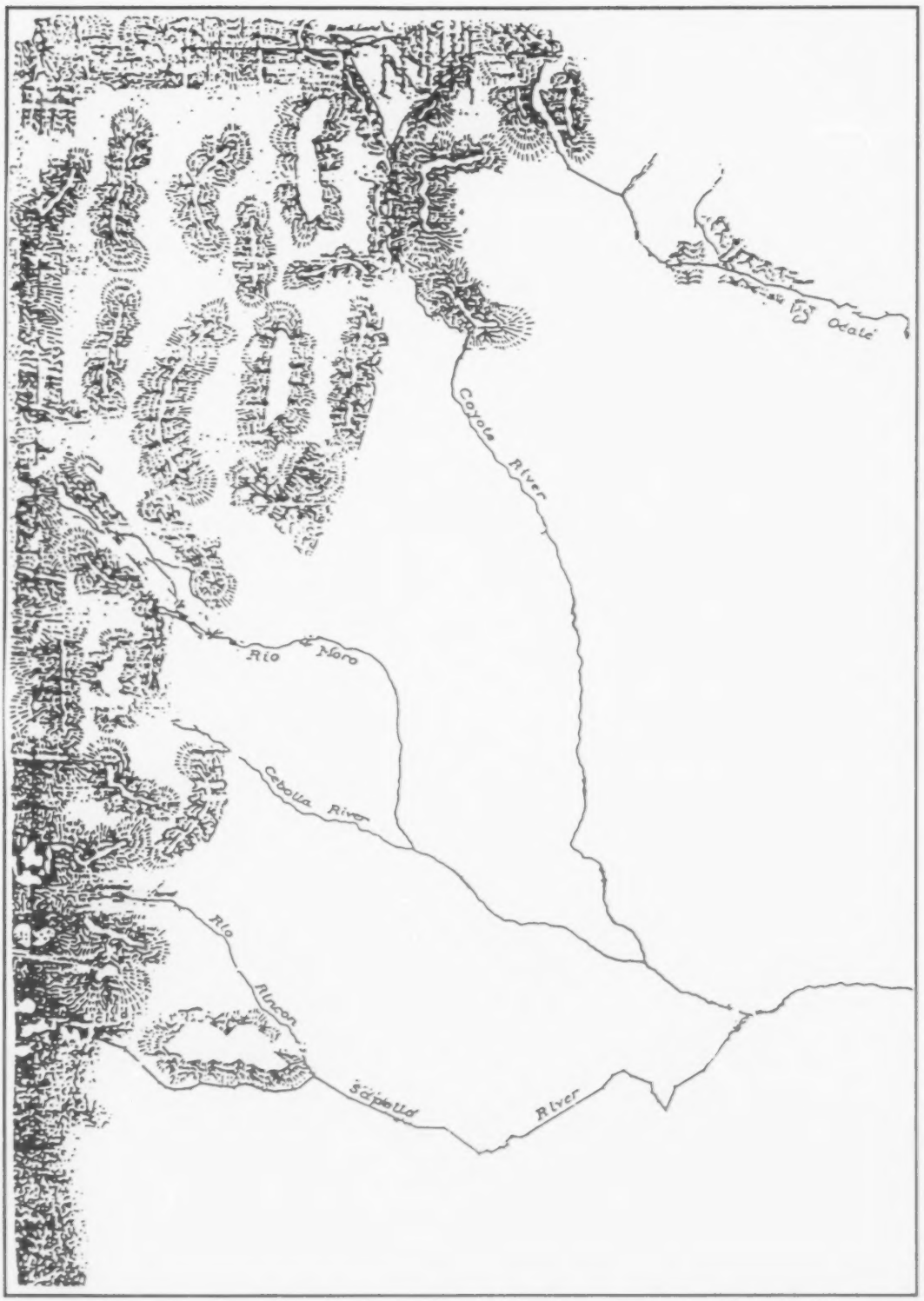

Note: Shaded areas are mountains.

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Settling Land Grant Claims

Differing Cultural and Legal Views of Land Ownership

Hispanos and Americans both believed in the value and importance of land, but they differed in their ideas about methods of ownership. The Hispanic culture of the Southwest was land-based. Land was basic to family existence, the basis of life itself. It was rarely something bought and sold for profit. Ownership was based on *custom* and *use*. If a family occupied a section of land for a number of years, they had the right to own it. If the family stopped using the land and left, the land was open for occupation by another family.

Most Hispanos were unable to use the English language and were unaware of the American system of laws. They often did not keep careful records of land titles. In a customary system, it is not essential to do so. The Americans' complicated system of land ownership and transfer was too confusing. It was difficult to understand ownership based upon registered pieces of paper filed in a clerk's office. Few individuals possessed titles to their land that could stand the test of the American courts.

Spanish-Mexican law allowed transfer of property by verbal agreement. Therefore, sales of privately owned land were not often in writing; those that were, were rarely filed with the authorities. This system was based on the idea that each person knew the geography of the area and the people living there. Face-to-face contact with others in the community, religious beliefs, and the necessity of cooperation were the basis for enforcing verbal agreements.

Also, the Hispanos were not used to a system of direct taxation on the land. Spanish-Mexican law imposed taxes on the products of the land, not the land itself. When crops or increases in cattle herds were small, the taxes were less than in years of abundance. Direct taxation created problems in an economic system where cash was not always available. Failure to understand that the government could sell land to recover delinquent taxes led to the loss of many estates.

These cultural differences placed great disadvantages on the traditional communities of the Southwest. The lack of knowledge of the American legal system, its courts, and proceedings contributed to the problems of settling land claims.

Congress Tries to Settle Land Claims

In March 1851, Congress passed a law to settle land claims in California. The law stated that every person claiming land in California by title from the Spanish or Mexican governments could present a claim. The claimant could present any documents or witnesses to support the claim. Claims in California were settled quickly, but this was not true of the other areas of the Southwest.

In July 1854, six years after the treaty, Congress created the Office of Surveyor General to settle claims to lands in the Southwest. The first surveyor-general was William Pelham. Following his arrival in Santa Fe, Pelham invited people to file their claims before him. The surveyor general's responsibility was to recommend to Congress whether to confirm a claim.

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There was little response to Pelham's invitation. From the start, the process was mistrusted by the people. To the Hispano, the use of land was more important in deciding its ownership than were any documents. Furthermore, filing a claim was expensive.

Once a claim was filed, there was no due process of law to determine whether the claim was a valid one. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States requires that no person shall be "deprived of...property, without due process of law...." *Due process* means having a hearing, allowing the parties to present evidence and to question witnesses against them. The surveyor general made decisions solely on the basis of the documents filed.

Congress Turns the Problem Over to the Courts

In 1891, Congress created the Court of Private Land Claims to settle all land grant questions in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. The court opened in Denver but shortly afterward moved to Santa Fe.

The Court of Private Land Claims was a five judge board. The court held hearings at which attorneys represented the petitioner and the government. An interpreter attended the hearings. This was the only person required to know and speak the Spanish language. The court gave public notice of its hearings. It had the power to issue subpoenas and keep records of the proceedings.

Any person or corporation could present a claim before the court. The law required that the petitioner provide the following information:

- Date and form of the grant.
- Name and title of the person making the grant.
- Name of the persons holding or claiming the land.
- The size of the grant and its boundaries.
- A map showing the area.
- Any reports of lawful action taken before.

After deciding that a claim was valid, the court ordered a survey of the land. The survey was published. If no one objected, the court gave final approval to the claim. If the court ruled against a petitioner, the petitioner could appeal directly to the Supreme Court of the United States within six months of the original decision.

In deciding the validity of a claim, the court was bound to follow three sources of law: (1) the law of nations, (2) the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and (3) the laws of the Republic of Mexico. The law creating the court did not give it the power to consider *custom* as a factor in deciding the validity of a claim. The claimant, rather than the government, had the burden to prove the existence of the grant and whether all its conditions had been met. Further, the court did not recognize the authority of officials other than the governor to make grants, as had been the customary practice. The legal proceedings were very expensive, requiring attorneys, surveyors, and experts to search through Spanish and Mexican archives.

First, the court had to decide whether a claim was a grant recognized by Mexican law. That meant the grant had to have been made by an official with the authority to do so. It also meant having the proper legal documents to support the claim, such as a petition, a title, a report of placing in possession, or approval by the appropriate official. If a grant was *perfect*, the court honored

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the claim. This meant that the grant had to meet all the conditions set forth in Spanish or Mexican law.

Two important laws passed by the Mexican Congress in 1824 and 1828 were binding on the court.

- **The Colonization Decree (August 18, 1824).** This law invited foreigners and Mexican citizens to establish settlements in the lands belonging to Mexico. It limited the size of a land grant the Mexican government could make to each petitioner.
- **General Rules and Regulations for the Colonization of Territories (November 21, 1828).** This law permitted the governors of the Mexican territories to grant vacant lands. The persons desiring land petitioned the governor, describing on a map the land requested. Either the territorial deputation (governor's advisory council) or the supreme government in Mexico City had the power to approve grants. No grant could give the right to any mines or minerals on the land. No grant could interfere with Indian rights or titles. When the government approved a grant, the governor signed it. The document served as title to the land. The customary method of placing a grantee in possession of his land was for the local *alcalde*, or justice of the peace, to perform a ritual of throwing earth, pulling weeds, shouting "long live the government," and walking the boundaries of the grant.

The Court of Private Land Claims researched all claims to decide whether they met with the terms of the Mexican laws. This was a long and difficult process. The fact that record keeping was poor and many files no longer existed complicated matters. It was also difficult when there were overlapping claims and changes in ownership of grants. As a result, mistakes were made and people lost their legitimate rights to the land. Nearly two-thirds of the claims filed were rejected. More than half of the decisions made by the Court of Private Land Claims were appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Land Problems Continue

The Court of Private Land Claims was in existence until 1904. During those 13 years, people filed 282 land grant claims in New Mexico alone. Claims from all the states involved totaled 34.5 million acres of land. When the court finished its work, it had honored 75 claims filed in New Mexico. The total land awarded, including eight pueblos, was two million acres. The government and petitioners appealed 57 of the court's decisions to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Many problems related to land remain unsettled. Some of these problems include:

- The land claims not honored by the court entered into the public domain. Much of it became national forest lands, depriving the local people of traditional livelihoods such as woodcutting, grazing, fishing, and hunting.
- Land speculators deprived heirs of their grant lands by purchasing them at ridiculously low prices or through fraudulent legal schemes.
- Lawsuits by heirs to grant lands continue. Heirs claim rights to the land based on mistakes made by the courts or by Congress.
- Land grant surveys included only the outer edges of the claim. Land within the grant remained unplatted. As the land transfers hands, it is difficult to determine who has ownership of which acreage. These mistakes cloud titles to the land. Clouded titles cannot be sold or developed.

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What Do You Think?

1. How were the legal systems of land ownership used by the Spanish and Mexican governments different? Why might those differences be important?

2. What issues of fairness arise from the procedures used by the Office of the Surveyor General?

3. Develop a flowchart illustrating the procedures used in the Court of Private Land Claims. What issues of fairness arise from these procedures?

4. Why might it be more appropriate that land grant claims be settled by the courts rather than Congress?

5. Should the procedures for settling land claims have been the same as the procedures used in Spain or Mexico? Why or why not?

6. What issues of fairness remain as a result of the decisions made by the Court of Private Land Claims? What might be some fair ways to settle those issues?

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Controversy and Violence on a Colorado Mountain

History of the Sangre de Cristo Grant

What is today southern Colorado was, between 1821 and 1846, part of Mexico. It was governed by the Department of New Mexico, a unit in the Mexican government. Between 1841 and 1843, the governor of New Mexico, Manuel Armijo, made a number of land grants. Four of the grants were in the present state of Colorado. All four were private grants made to one or two individuals. Together, the four grants contained eight million acres of land.

What was unusual about the grants was their tremendous size. The Sangre de Cristo grant was one million acres, far more than allowed by Mexican law. Why did Governor Armijo make such large grants? Perhaps it was the threat of invasion by Texas, which claimed part of New Mexico. Armijo was not able to protect the distant parts of the territory. So he turned to trusted friends and foreigners who had become citizens of Mexico. Armijo acted in hopes that the grants would establish Mexican ownership and protection for the territory.

In a petition dated December 27, 1843, Narciso Beaubien and Stephen Luis Lee asked for the land that became the Sangre de Cristo Grant. On December 30, Governor Armijo awarded the grant. On January 8, 1844, the *alcalde* at Taos placed the grantees in possession of the land. When Lee and Beaubien were killed during the Taos Revolt of 1847 (an uprising against the American occupation of New Mexico), Narciso's father, Carlos Beaubien, inherited his son's half of the grant. Stephen Luis Lee's attorney sold Stephen's interest to Carlos Beaubien for $100.

In 1849 the first permanent settlement was made on the Rio Costilla at what is now Garcia, Colorado. A permanent settlement at San Luis de Culebra occurred in 1851. Church records show a large in-migration of settlers throughout the 1850s. Other plazas established on the Rio Culebra included San Pedro and San Pablo in 1852; San Francisco and La Valle in 1854; Chama in 1855; and Los Fuertes in 1858.

Carlos Beaubien gave the settlers of the Rio Culebra plazas a lush pasture land, a commons or *vega* as it is called locally. The commons lies between San Luis, San Pablo, and San Pedro. Originally much larger, today it contains 633 acres and is still used by the residents for grazing horses and cattle. Beaubien also gave the colonists water rights to their land and grazing, hunting and fishing, wood gathering, and timber rights on the mountain. All of these were customary rights under Spanish and Mexican law.

In 1853 Carlos Beaubien, worried about possible taxes on the land, decided to divide the grant. To his daughter, his attorney, and Lee's attorney, each, he gave title to one-sixth of the grant. The remaining half was titled in his name. Beaubien filed for legal confirmation of the grant with the Office of Surveyor General in 1855. The Sangre de Cristo Grant was among the first Spanish and Mexican land grants the Surveyor General recommended to Congress for confirmation. Congress confirmed the grant in 1860 at nearly 1 million acres.

An aging Beaubien, still worried about taxation of his estate, offered to sell his remaining land to William Gilpin, the first territorial governor of Colorado. Gilpin arranged a deal with Beaubien and left for New York to raise the money. When Gilpin returned, he learned of Beaubien's death two months earlier. Beaubien's widow, however, honored the agreement and sold to

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Gilpin for $15,000. The year was 1863. Gilpin eventually purchased the other half of the grant. In all, Gilpin paid $41,000 for a million acres of land—around four cents an acre.

Just before his death Beaubien filed a document with the Costilla County Clerk. Its purpose was to protect the property and use rights of the settlers. Beaubien wanted to ensure that the small plazas would survive. Therefore, they needed access to lands essential to maintain themselves, other than their small farms. Beaubien specified that the lush commons, the *vega*, was for the benefit of all inhabitants. But knowing the commons was neither enough for all grazing needs nor suitable for sheep, Beaubien specified use rights to the mountain. In the document, known as the Beaubien Concession of 1863, Beaubien wrote:

> It has been decided that the lands of the Rito Seco remain uncultivated for the benefit of the community members of the plazas....According to the corresponding rule all the inhabitants will have enjoyment of benefits of pastures, water, firewood and timber, always taking care that one does not injure another.

When William Gilpin purchased the grant, he knew of and signed this document. The original has since been lost and only copies exist. It is this document that has been at the center of controversy in more recent times.

Faced with repaying his loan and paying the taxes on the land, Gilpin sold shares in the grant to investors. By 1868 there were five co-owners. Realizing that the large size of the grant was a problem, the co-owners divided it into two portions. The northern half became the Trinchera Estate, the southern the Costilla Estate.

In 1902 the Costilla Estate was sold for taxes and mortgages to a group of Colorado Springs investors. They renamed the company the Costilla Estate Development Company. The new owners realized that water was the key to making the land productive. They set about acquiring water rights on the Rio Culebra and its tributaries. They completed construction of Sanchez Reservoir on the Culebra system by 1913. The Company laid out three new townsites: New San Acacio, Mesita, and Jarosa. They did sell land, particularly small farm tracts along the streams. The water supply, however, has not been adequate for large-scale agriculture.

The Controversy

The people of Costilla County, Colorado, believe that the descendants of the Sangre de Cristo Grant settlers have a legal and moral right to pasture cattle, gather wood, cut timber, and hunt game on the nearby mountain, no matter who owns it. For 110 years the people had exercised those rights.

Until 1960, the Mountain Tract was the last large piece of unfenced land on the Sangre de Cristo Grant. In that year the Costilla Land Company sold the 77,000-acre tract to John (Jack) T. Taylor for $7 an acre. The sellers warned Taylor that there might be some problems, a "little cloud on the title." That cloud on the title turned out to be the 1863 document declaring the use rights of the local inhabitants.

As soon as Jack Taylor closed the deal, he began clearing timber and leasing grazing rights. Unlike previous owners, however, he began fencing the tract with barbed wire and blocking the roads. In June of that year, he sued three local sheepherders for trespassing on his land.

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The first incident of violence between Taylor and the local people occurred in 1961 after he caught three young Hispanic men on his property. Taylor said the men were vandalizing his equipment. The men claimed to be looking for their stray cows. The three men were severely beaten by Taylor and his employees. When Taylor was taken to the jail in San Luis, an angry crowd gathered outside. The sheriff kept him in jail overnight for his own protection. Taylor was convicted of simple assault and was fined.

During the summer of 1963, Taylor set about fencing the entire tract and erecting barriers on the four roads leading up to the property.

As provided in the Beaubien Concession of 1863, Taylor's deed to the Mountain Tract read as follows:

> All of the land hereby conveyed...[is] subject to claims of the local people by prescription...to right to pasture, wood, and lumber and so-called settlement rights in, to and upon said land....

After purchasing the property, Taylor asked the U. S. District Court to remove this clause from his title. In 1965, the trial court said that the Beaubien-Gilpin agreement was a set of rules. It was not a legal deed and, therefore, not binding. The Court declared that certain historical rights of the local people were null and void (*Taylor v. Jacques*). The Association for Civic Rights, which represented the local people, appealed the decision. The appellate court in 1967 upheld the decision of the lower court (*Sanchez v. Taylor*). Discouraged by their loss, the Association for Civic Rights disbanded. No appeal was made to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In 1974, a new group of local residents decided to continue to fight for their use rights on the Mountain Tract. This group, mainly young people, felt their elders had given up too easily. They convinced the county commissioners and the sheriff to remove the road barriers Taylor had erected. Taylor, in turn, sued for $1.5 million for damages to his property. The court awarded Taylor $1 and allowed the barricades to remain in place.

In 1975, while Taylor was sleeping in his mountain home, someone fired several bullets through his roof. Taylor suffered a wounded ankle. He returned to North Carolina and rarely visited the mountain again.

The Land Rights Council, as the local group is now called, filed suit in 1981 with the District Court of Colorado. In *Rael v. Taylor*, the council claimed that the decision in *Taylor v. Jacques* was unjust and incorrect. The claim was based on the fact that the 1965 action did not list, nor was notice given to, all residents who had an interest in the use rights to the Mountain Tract. Therefore, many people lost those rights without due process of law.

The District Court dismissed the suit in 1986. *Rael v. Taylor* was appealed to the Colorado Court of Appeals. Jack Taylor died in 1988, leaving his estate to his son, Zachary Taylor. The Lieutenant Governor of Colorado encouraged the parties to settle their dispute once and for all. He proposed that the residents of Costilla County and Zachary Taylor, together, work out a solution fair to both sides. The Lieutenant Governor offered to be the mediator in the dispute. The Colorado Court of Appeals agreed to postpone a ruling until the parties had a chance to see whether they could reach a reasonable and fair settlement.

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24. TOURING THE WEST: DESIGNING A LOCAL HISTORY WALKING OR DRIVING TOUR

Introduction:

Today, tourism is a major force in the American West, shaping the economy and the lifestyles of the people who live there. This lesson uses segments from Isabella Bird's *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1873) and Ian Frazier's *Great Plains* (1989) as a springboard for asking students to analyze the impact of tourism in their community and to complete historical research that combines local history with a walking tour, annotated map, or highway road tour. The adventures of these writers have created stories that inspire even more visitors to come and, in turn, affect the lives of the people who live in the places they visit.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Use research skills to gather information and stories about the area selected for study.

2. Design a walking or driving tour in your community and create a narrative to accompany it.

3. Analyze the positive and negative impact of tourism on your community as seen through the eyes of a traveler seeking an authentic western experience.

4. Describe some of the diverse stories that contributed to your community's history.

Time Required: Will vary depending on the scope of the project

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of Handout 24-1 for all students. Before beginning this project, you will need to determine how large an area you want your students' tour to cover. You may want to choose an area that encompasses the school neighborhood, or you may want to choose a larger area, depending on the time and resources available to you.

If possible, choose a tour for which an audience can be created. For example, the local Council of Churches might publish a walking tour of your community's places of worship. Local history associations may be interested in an audiotaped tour for a historic neighborhood.

You should also try to select an area that permits students to learn about a variety of ethnic groups, economic classes, and/or time periods so that students gain a sense that your community's history is comprised of many different stories.

When you have selected the area, gather and/or locate resources about the area to which students can gain access (e.g., historic photographs at the local library). If possible, you may want to arrange for a local historian or member of the historical society to accompany the class when it makes its initial "just looking" walking tour. If necessary, you should arrange for a bus to take students on the "just looking" tour.

This lesson contains information from a lecture given by Patricia Limerick on August 1, 1995.

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Examples of guides for other walking or driving tours in your area or other areas you have visited would be useful in introducing the project to students. It would be especially useful to have examples in several different formats. It would also be useful to have a large outline map of the area you have selected, along with smaller copies for students to use in taking notes on the "just looking" tour.

Procedure:

1. Introduce the topic of touring the West by asking students: Who comes to tour our community? Where do they come from? How do they get here? What attracts them? What types of interactions have students had with visitors? Do tourists get a valid picture of the community? Do students think too many people come to visit or too few? How do they think the tourist experience has changed over time? (The answers to many of these questions can be found at the local chamber of commerce or tourism board.)

2. Explain that in this lesson, students will be considering the impact of tourism on the community and the role of the community in shaping the tourist industry by reading the observations of two writers who traveled the West and wrote "best-sellers" about their experience. Ask students to read Handout 24-1. Use the following questions to stimulate class discussion:

- What impact would these particular segments have on you if you were considering a visit to the Rocky Mountains?
- In what ways do the writers make travel in the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains sound interesting? Exciting? Boring?
- Would you seek the type of travel they describe? Why or why not?
- How is the writers' travel different from/similar to your family trips?

3. Following a discussion of the readings, ask the class to design a trip to their community. Use information from step 1 to guide them in considering the goals of their tour. Do they want to attract more visitors or limit the number of visitors? Do they want to show tourists the obvious or take them behind the scenes?

4. Introduce the local history project to students, using examples if you have been able to obtain them. Explain that students will be gathering information about the area you have selected (display the map) to place in a guide to a walking or driving tour that will help visitors understand the many people's stories that make up the history of the area.

5. Give students copies of the map of the area to be studied and inform them that you will be taking a "just looking" tour of the area—either on foot or by bus, depending on which is appropriate for your chosen area. On the tour, students should note places on the map that they think would be interesting to include on a tour designed to explain the history of the area. These could include public buildings that might have an interesting history, examples of architecture from different periods, public art, and so on.

6. Conduct the "just looking" tour, directing students' attention to various places as appropriate.

7. Following the tour, create a class list of the items that students thought would be worth including on a guided historical tour of the area. Conduct a class discussion in which students narrow the list down to a manageable number of places.

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8. Based on the list of items selected and their experience on the "just looking" tour, what kind of guide do students think would be appropriate for the area—an audiotaped guide, a booklet, etc. Help the class work toward consensus on the type of product they are going to create, how much and what kind of information will be included about each place, and so on.

9. Divide the class into small working groups of two or three students each. Assign each group one of the places on the tour to research. Share with students the sources of information that you have gathered and/or otherwise located, but also encourage them to gather oral histories from people who have firsthand knowledge of the place they are researching.

10. When students have completed their research and drafted their section of the guide, have two groups work together, providing feedback on each other's work. Then allow time for revisions, including the production of artwork or other special effects.

11. When all the entries have been revised, you may want to have the entire class work together to complete the final product or you may want to have a smaller committee assigned to do the final production work. This decision is likely to depend on the kind of guide your class decided to produce.

12. Arrange for the guide to be presented to its audience or, if no outside audience has been found, to other history classes in the school.

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Touring the West with Isabel and Ian

An English Lady Has Trouble Finding Her Way in the Rocky Mountains

Tourists' impressions of the people and the landscape have often been shaped by the transportation they used as much as by the adventures they sought. While tourism in the American West has been shaped by the automobile in the 20th century, there are wonederful adventure stories from the 19th century in which the travel experience was shaped primarily by railroad travel. This was particularly true in the 1870s, when the United States was a common destination for well-to-do Europeans—particularly those seeking adventure without undue risk.

Isabella Bird, an upper class, middle-aged English lady, challenged this image of 19th-century travel in 1873 when she visited the West on her way home from an extended visit to Hawaii. Her observations, expressed through letters to her sister back in England, provide an understanding of what it was like to travel through the Rocky Mountains before there were maps or automobiles. One chapter of her book tells aobut getting lost on her way to Estes Park

* * * * *

Early the next morning I left in a buggy drawn by light broncos and driven by a profoundly melancholy young man. He had never been to the canyon; there was no road. We met nobody, saw nothing except antelope in the distance, and he became more melancholy and lost his way, driving hither and thither for about twenty miles till we came upon an old trail which eventually brought us to a fertile "bottom".... Except for the huge barrier to the right, the boundless prairies were everywhere, and it was like being at sea without a compass. The wheels made neither sound nor indentation as we drove over the short, dry grass, and there was no cheerful clatter of horses' hoofs....A range of low, grassy hills, call the Foot Hills, rose from the plain....

Confessedly bewildered, and more melancholy than ever, the driver turned up one of the wildest of these entrances, and in another hour the Foot Hills lay between us and the prairie sea... The driver thought he had understood the directions given, but he was stupid, and once we lost some miles by arriving at a river too rough and deep to be forded and again we were brought up by an impassable canyon. He grew frightened about his horses, and said no money would ever tempt him into the mountains again; but average intelligence would have made it all easy.

The solitude was becoming somber, when after driving for nine hours, and traveling at the least forty-five miles, without any sign of fatigue on the part of the broncos,...A little farther, and the canyon became utterly inaccessible. This was exciting; here was an inner world...On the other side (of a rough shaky bridge) was a log cabin....An emigrant wagon and a forlorn tent with a camp fire and a pot were in the foreground, but there was no trace of the boarding-house...The driver went for further directions, and returned with a grim smile deepening the melancholy of his face to say...there was no accommodation for such as him much less for me! I got down and found a single room of the rudest kind, with the wall at one end partially broken down, holes in the roof, holes for windows, and no furniture but two chairs and two unplanned wooden shelves, with some sacks of straw upon them for beds....A hard, sad-looking woman looked at me measur-

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Excerpts from *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*, by Isabella L. Bird. New edition copyright © 1960 by the University of Oklahoma Press.

ingly. She said that they sold milk and butter to parties who camped in the canyon, that they had never had any boarders but two asthmatic old ladies, but they would take me for five dollars per week if I "would make myself agreeable." Here the life was rougher; rougher than any I had ever seen...

* * * * *

One day Isabella set out on horseback with her host family to look for the canyon that would take her to her destination: "My pack, with my well-worn umbrella upon it, was behind my saddle. I wore my Hawaiian riding dress, with a handkerchief tied over my face and the sun-cover of my umbrella folded and tied over my hat, for the sun was very fierce." Unfortunately, her trip was up the wrong canyon! Days later, she finally reached Estes Park and commented: "A most romantic place...This is no place for tourists and women,...its unprofaned freshness gives me new life...."

A New Yorker on the Great Plains

Today, most travelers "fly over" large parts of the American West to reach those special places (ski resorts, national parks, and dude ranches) that have made the American West famous throughout the world. Like Isabella Bird, there are still travelers who choose to follow the back roads, meeting people and seeing places that they consider to be more authentic. Ian Frazier, a writer for the New Yorker *magazine, is such a traveler. In 1982, he took a 6,000-mile road trip (and several subsequent trips) in a rusty van to write a book,* The Great Plains, *about his trek through this huge geographic area. He crisscrossed the region on secondary roads that took him to small towns where he could interact with people in local cafes, attend their festivals, and tour the local museums and landmarks. He visited the site of Sitting Bull's cabin and an abandoned house once terrorized by Bonnie and Clyde.*

His book reveals life on the Great Plains through conversation with the people he met.

* * * * *

The rancher said, "A guy came up here from Denver a while ago and said he wanted to look for artifacts on our land, and I asked what kind of artifacts, and he said, 'Early-man tools.' We all thought that was pretty funny—whenever we'd need a rock for something, we'd say, 'Hey, hand me one o'them early-man tools.' Then one day the guy comes down off the ridge and he's got this beautiful spear point about six inches long. Ever since, I've been keeping my eye on the ground, and picking up chippings and points and hide scrapers all over the place. Some of these rocks I don't even know what they were, but I know they were something."

Like Isabella Bird, occasionally Frazier took roads that led him somewhere other than where he expected to go or found less at the end of the road than he expected:

> From [Independence Rock] I took some highways and then a little road running thirty-five miles across not much of anything just to see the town of Bill, Wyoming. It was a Saturday afternoon. The one store in town was closed, as was the post office. I did not see a single person in Bill, Wyoming.

Excerpts from *Great Plains*, by Ian Frazier (New York: Penguin, 1989).

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25. THE WEST AS LITERARY REGION: LANDSCAPE IN WESTERN POETRY

Introduction:

Gary Holthaus of the University of Colorado has said: "Westerners carry huge geographies in their heads. They know their place in a huge regional sense and the details about place become more specific and more numerous when one is closest to home." These specific details about Western landscape make western literature, both poetry and fiction, not only regional, but also very deeply linked to the past.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Locate specific details about western landscapes in poetry.

2. Make inferences about natural cycles and the "personality" of landscape.

3. Locate and analyze nature maetaphors in poetry about the West.

Time Required: 2 class periods

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handouts 25-1 and 25-2. You will also need to select a western landscape poem to analyze with the class as a model. You may also want to select additional poems for analysis; those included on the handout are intended only as examples.

Procedure:

1. Select your favorite western landscape poem and lead the students through it, pointing out specific descriptive detail and references to cycles of nature and/or the "personality" of the landscape.

2. Have students work in pairs to read the poems and complete the worksheet provided in Handout 25-1.

3. Discuss students' findings with the entire class. Consider with the class how images of nature in western poetry reflect the myths and values of western society. What do the poems tell us about westerners' views of nature?

Extension/Enrichment:

Have students return to western poems and stories read earlier or in other classes to locate the same elements. You might also ask students to write poems about the landscape in which they live, incorporating metaphors that reveal the importance of the landscape in their own lives.

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Landscape in Western Poetry

What I find expressed in western fictional writing is, first, a strong sense of the embeddedness of human life in the cycles and patterns of nature, and, second, a fascination with the distinctive psychological content of western landscapes.

Donald Worster
Under Western Skies, 1992

1. Paraphrase the quotation above.

2. Find lines in one poem that suggest a relationship between the cycles of nature and human life.

3. Find lines in another poem that suggest that the landscape is a character with psychological content (i.e., a personality).

4. Find a metaphor you feel is particularly arresting. Explain what this metaphor suggests to you about the landscape.

5. Find an example of nature being personified.

6. In which poems does nature seem to have more than one personality or face?

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Arrowhead

I hear the soft breath
of horses,
ghosts resting in heat,
the muffled hooves
turning from the sun.

Here
where the smell of pine is thick,
I rest beneath this street
holding broken flint.

Eyes closed,
I see a woman grinding corn
in a round stone basin
and soft feet hit earth
dry as the air.

In the breeze
are the sounds of this man
chipping stone,
his old knees bent
and birds
falling
down his mind.

---

by Linda Hogan. First appeared in *Red Clay: Poems and Stories* (Greenfield Center, NY: Greenfield Review Literary Center, 1991).

The Tree

A great cottonwood grows along
the bank of a small stream. Longer
than any of our old men or old women
can remember, this tree has grown
from the center of the earth. The
earth and the tree are inseparable;
each necessary to the other's richest
life.

Among all our people there is not yet
one who knows how deep the roots go,
nor yet how far they spread under the
ground.

The tree has many limbs.
In the spring the smallest tips of the
tree reveal light brown husks. Inside
each husk is a green bud. Each bud
grows from the end of a single shoot
which rises from one of many twigs.
The twigs reach out from a limb ex-
tending from the heavy trunk climbing
out from its maze of roots.

Within, the bud is a bit of green folded
tighly around itself.

When sunlight and rainfall and circumstance
are in right proportion, the bud unfolds.
It becomes a leaf, green, and in proper
time, golden.

Without water or sun, without the mys-
terious elements of the earth which are
drawn upward through the roots, the trunk,
the limbs, the bud draws tighter and
tighter within itself; the tiny leaf
shrivels, the bud becomes very hard
and dies.

At the death of even the poorest bud,
every leaf trembles, the great trunk
shudders, the whole earth stirs.

---

by Gary Holthaus, *Circling Back* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1984).

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Thanksgiving at Snake Butte

In time we rode that trail
up the butte as far as time
would let us. The answer to our time
lay hidden in the long grasses
on the top. Antelope scattered

through the rocks before us, clattered
unseen down the easy slope to the west.
Our horses balked, stiff-legged,
their nostrils flared at something unseen
gliding smoothly through brush away.

On top, our horses broke, loped through
a small stand of stunted pine, then jolted
to a nervous walk. Before us lay
the smooth stones of our ancestors, the fish,
the lizard, snake and bent-kneed

bowman—etched by something crude,
by a wandering race, driven by their names
for time: its winds, its rain, its snow
and the cold moon tugging at the crude figures
in this, the season of their loss.

---

by James Welch. "Thanksgiving at Snake Butte" is reprinted from *Riding the Earthboy 40* by James Welch. Copyright 1971, 1976, 1990 by James Welch. Reprinted by permission of Confluence Press at Lewis-Clark State College, Lewiston, Idaho.

Pastoral

Mockingbirds
perch upon trees, ripe
melodies of fruit, seeds,
leaves that open at the sun.

It is evening again. Bulls
stand, spent of cows.
Ditchwater blackens, gleams.

Beyond adobe walls
an old man rests his hand
dreams upon a rock ledge:

out of stone, memories
rise up, mockeries
of gone days, cycles

of the land, green to brown,
yellow, green again with
the sharp promises of youth.

To feed his heart these mummers
dance in graveclothes, tell
the old story a folk song
of thin breasts, sunken cheeks.
The growing sadnesses of the bones.

Dry winds at evening; coming always,
again, some dust to bite cheeks
already too aware of winter.

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by Keith Wilson. Reprinted from *The Streets of San Miguel*. Copyright © 1977 by Keith Wilson. Published by Maguey Press, Tucson, Arizona.

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26. THE LORDS OF YESTERDAY: INVESTIGATING ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY AND POLICY

Introduction:

This lesson is designed to help students consider how our environmental history has been shaped and analyzed. The 19th-century movement of European settlement to the American West remains one of the greatest migrations in human history. This migration is closely connected to the development of public policies that provided a huge incentive for extracting resources from the region. Westerners are currently rethinking environmental policies of the 19th-century. Since large interest groups, many of whom live outside the West, are the beneficiaries of extraction, these policies are being widely debated within and beyond the region.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Understand the historical basis for current environmental policies.

2. Compare 19th- and 20th-century perspectives on environmental issues that are unique to the American West.

3. Develop a personal position on a current western environmental public policy as a result of research analysis and propose policies for the future.

Time Required: 2 class periods plus research in and out of class

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 26-1, 26-2, and 26-3 for all students. You will also need a copy of *Crossing the Next Meridian*, by Charles Wilkinson (Washington DC, and Covelo, CA: Island Press, 1992) for your own reference.

Procedure:

1. Present the "Five Environmental Policies" chart in Handout 26-1 and briefly describe each of the five 19th-century policies using *Crossing the Next Meridian* for background and anecdotes (e.g., to illustrate the impact of Reclamation Policy, you could mention that salmon on the Salmon River in Idaho must swim through eight dams to reach spawning ground with 5 to 13 percent lost in each dam). An excerpt from the book is included as **Teacher Background Information** for your convenience.

2. Have students complete the 19th-century column by describing why each of the five policies made sense for European settlers. Discuss some of the conflicts that emerged among various interest groups (e.g., debates between John Muir and Gifford Pinchot regarding use of forests).

3. In the column on 20th-century perspectives, have students hypothesize at least two points of view that might exist today regarding these policies. A number of these issues were debated by Congress in 1995, so students may have seen recent newspaper articles on these topics.

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4. Provide students with Handout 26-2. Discuss the set of proposed values. How are these values different from the 19th-century values? What explains the change in values from one century to the next?

5. Assign each student to study an environmental policy issue by developing a scrapbook. Use Handout 26-3 to describe your expectations.

6. When the scrapbooks are complete, create small groups in which students analyzing different issues present their products to one another and compare findings. Do students have similar or different approaches to environmental issues?

7. As a concluding or evaluation activity, have students meet with a public official to present their policy recommendations.

Teacher Background Information*

I have not included some of these subjects here because they are not distinctively western issues; that is, those concerns will be approached by a set of principles that by and large are as applicable in, say, Massachusetts and Ohio as in Colorado and Alaska. I also have excluded a few sets of issues that are distinctively western, such as the leasing of onshore and offshore oil, gas, and coal deposits. The central problems in mineral leasing do not trace to decisions made in another era—the mineral leasing laws have been substantially modernized—so the core conceptual issues vary from those presented by the lords of yesterday. Nevertheless, although the laws and policies taken up here do not encompass all western natural resource problems, they have a sweeping and pervasive influence in western society and are properly treated together because of the common themes that they raise. They are the heart of what can be called the law of the American West.

The first lord of yesterday is the Hardrock Mining Law of 1872, which dedicates more than half of all public lands to mining as the preferred use. Individual miners—or, much more often, mining corporations—can enter federal lands and extract hardrock minerals (gold, silver, copper, uranium, and many others) entirely free of charge. Further, this extraordinary law allows successful mining operations to obtain title to the land overlying the deposit; miners can receive as many 20-acre parcels as they wish, providing only that they discover valuable minerals under each. The hardrock statute, born of the California gold rush, is the vehicle for an array of health and environmental hazards, fraudulent practices, and land use problems arising from the some 1.1 million hardrock mining claims that blanket the western public lands.

The second and third lords involve the public rangelands and forestlands. In the nineteenth century, the federal government began the practice of allowing free and unregulated grazing of cows and sheep on the public domain. There is now a modicum of control on the 170 million acres of Bureau of Land Management lands where private grazing is allowed, but grazing fees are set at a fraction of their market value, and poor grazing practices have devastated western rangeland and the rivers that receive millions of tons of eroded soil annually. In the national forests, the Forest Service continues to push into remote, roadless areas such as the Jersey-Jack, still following its turn-of-the-century policy of treating logging as the dominant use of the forests in spite of

*Used with permission from *Crossing the Next Meridian*. © 1992 Charles Wilkinson. Published by Island Press, Washington, DC, and Covelo, California.

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changed public perceptions of the forests and clear evidence that many current government timber sales are unprofitable.

The final two lords of yesterday relate to water, which figures so prominently in the West. The Jersey-Jack area and Pyramid Lake, in other words, are typical of most western resource conflicts today because they implicate water in substantial ways. The fourth lord involves the dams and other development practices of the Pacific Northwest that have crippled the runs of Pacific salmon and steelhead. During the mid-nineteenth century, we set the stage for our policy toward salmon simply by doing nothing. Unrestricted meeting and trapping, even dynamiting, were allowed. Unregulated dams on tributaries of the Columbia River—usually constructed in the name of "cheap" hydropower—destroyed spawning beds and choked off migration routes. Even passable dams with fish ladders account for a loss of about 5 to 13 percent of each run at each dam. Salmon bound for the area near Harold Thomas's Allison ranch on the Salmon River, for example, must surmount eight dams and will lose three-quarters of their numbers during the upriver steeplechase. The problems for young fish traveling downstream to the ocean are even more severe. Fish biologists still have not found a reliable bypass system to prevent mortality for juvenile salmon and steelhead on their journeys to the ocean. Further, asserted demand for still more hydropower creates pressure to manage the dams on an even more intensive basis, which will bode even worse for these remarkable fish. In addition to the dams, land management practices such as those proposed in the Jersey-Jack area have cost us dearly in terms of loss of salmon habitat—and, therefore, loss of salmon.

The final lord of yesterday also deals with western water. The prior appropriation doctrine first announced by the California Supreme Court in 1855, along with associated water policies, is perhaps the area in which the law of the American West is most out of kilter. Like the Hardrock Mining Act, the essential notion behind prior appropriation is an exercise in simplicity: water developers have been allowed to tap into any western stream without charge and extract as much water as desired, so long as the water is put to a beneficial use—that is, a domestic purpose or a commercial use such as mining, farming, ranching, manufacturing, or power production. Diverters of water under this system obtain vested property rights that cannot be taken away unless government pays full compensation. The oldest water rights are absolutely superior to those of all junior users; senior users need not share the resource, as was the law under the riparian doctrine accepted in the eastern states. Under the pure prior appropriation doctrine, western water users can, with impunity, flood deep canyons and literally dry up streams, as has happened with some regularity. Large water development efforts were subsidized by the federal and state governments. Until recently, no consideration of any kind was given to the needs of fish, wildlife, or the streams or canyons themselves. Thus, projects such as Newlands and Derby Dam were not only allowed but also actively promoted.

The lack of symmetry between nineteenth-century methods and modern values is compounded by a related problem, the capture by large interests of the laws and policies that comprise the lords of yesterday. It was not intended to be this way. Congress envisaged the westward expansion as a movement for "the little man," for individual initiative. The Jeffersonian ideal of the small family farm was repeatedly invoked during the nineteenth century as the cornerstone of the westward movement. One problem, however, was that Jefferson conceived his theories on the East Coast; although he plainly grasped the immense potential of the West, as demonstrated by his achieving the Louisiana purchase and commissioning the Lewis and Clark expedition, the evidence had not yet come in as to whether the small family farm would work in the West. As it turned out, many of Jefferson's ideas were impractical. For example, in most areas beyond the 100th meridian, the 160-acre plot envisaged in the Homestead Act of 1862 was larger than needed

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for a family farm (if irrigated) and too small for ranching. Big interests seized on the land and resource laws in a variety of ways, recounted in more detail throughout this book, and water developers, railroads and their landholding companies, timber companies, corporate ranches, agribusiness, and multinational mining companies took control of the economy of the West. Because of these forces, many of the main players in the western economy are located in urban centers, sometimes outside of the region, and have no concern for or accountability to the rural areas where the resource development occurs. As a result, the West has been imprinted with a lurching, up-and-down economy that cuts against the building of stable, lasting communities and often causes towns to stagnate after the trees, metals, or oil deposits drop in value or are mined out.

Reform has been stalled by several factors, some obvious, some much less so. Of course, to a considerable degree proposed changes are beaten back simply by the political and financial muscle wielded by the interests that have so much to gain by perpetuating the lords of yesterday. Yet we fundamentally misperceive the nature of the problem if we look only to the extractive industries. A larger, and more subtle, force is also at work.

The western economy has settled into the comfort of a unique kind of welfare system subsidized both by direct federal and state action and by the habit of writing off the extraordinary costs imposed on the environment and on dispossessed western communities such as Dixie and the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation. To be sure, the industries are the direct beneficiaries, and their actions drive the system. But there is a trickle-down effect, and the subsidies permeate broad segments of the West's populace, often whole communities. Most westerners receive cheap water and electricity. Wages from the mills, mines, farms, and ranches—and from construction projects for dams and roads—end up in the markets, restaurants, gas stations, and clothing stores, and in the local school and park budgets, too. Banks pin their investment strategies on the long-settled system; many of their loans depend on it. Land developers and realtors push for one-time profits from the growth spurts stimulated by building another dam, excavating a new open-pit gold mine, or pushing up the timber cut another notch.

Going with the lords of yesterday has understandably been the accepted way for nearly a century and a half. The elaborate structure, however, cannot remain in place much longer. Government treasuries are at the breaking point. The costs to the lands and waters are coming due: growing numbers of rivers, aquifers, forests, rangelands, and farms are in decline. It is increasingly evident that the traditional reliance on the extractive industries cuts against the promising, emerging western economy based on recreation and tourism; scaled-back resource development; and, critically, light industries that are drawn by the region's lands, waters, space, and pace of life—and that are now able, through modern communications, to overcome the distance that once made location in the West impractical. Still, final change cannot come until westerners fully perceive the nature and magnitude of the current problems, look beyond their perceived short-term interests, and determine to alter the settled ways.

It will not be easy, and opposition has and will come from many quarters. Even though most westerners accept the shared set of values discussed above, it is hard to move from a settled system with its tangible financial returns to an uncertain future—even if there is good cause to believe that change will bring a better future, sustainable in terms of both the western economy and the lands and waters that westerners hold so dear. It is hard even when the day of reckoning moves, as it has, from the long term to the mid term to the short term.

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Five Environmental Policies That Shaped the Past and Future of the American West

Policies*	19th-Century Perspectives	20th-Century Perspectives
Hard Rock Mining Law of 1872: dedicates more than half of public lands to mining as the preferred use. Individual miners can enter federal lands and extract minerals from hardrock mines. If successful, they can claim up to 20-acre parcels. There are 1.1 million claims on public land.		
Public Rangelands: free and unregulated grazing of cows and sheep on public lands; poor grazing practices result in rivers polluted by eroded salt.		
Forest-Homestead Act 1906-7: commercial uses emphasized instead of recreation or aesthetics. Currently, government timber sales are unprofitable and require cutting new roads in fragile backcountry.		
Reclamation Act of 1902—Irrigation of Arid Lands: financed grand-scale water projects; dams in the northwest have crippled runs of salmon and steelheads.		
Prior Appropriation of Water: water developers tap into any western stream without charge and extract as much water as desired so long as the water is put to a beneficial use—domestic or commercial. These diverters cannot have their water taken away without full compensation.		

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Developing Environmental Policy for Our Future

At the close of the 20th century, most people concerned with the future of the American West share the following values regarding the future of the region:

1. Resources should be available in sufficient quantity and quality for future generations.
2. Roughly equal respect should be given to the traditional extractive uses and to nonconsumptive uses. Wildlife, recreation, and wilderness are "resources"—they, too, are a supply of something valuable.
3. Resource development should be conducted to promote and preserve healthy, stable, and lasting communities.
4. Federal and state governments usually should receive a fair return when their resources are developed.
5. Government subsidies should be given to private industry only sparingly.

At what point do you agree or disagree with this set of values? What problems do you see in making policies that reflect these values? Write a page explaining your position.

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Environmental Policies for the Next Century Scrapbook

Select an environmental issue to research. Present your work in a scrapbook that includes the elements listed below.

Section 1. Guiding Values

What values should guide the formulation of policy? Use your response to Handout 28-2 as the basis for this section.

Section 2. Issue Identification

Select one of the five policy areas from the Handout 28-1 chart for research. Give your reasons for selecting the issue and state your opinion before doing any research.

Section 3. Clippings File

Gather and organize clippings related to your issue. Underline relevant facts with black ink. Use colored pencils to highlight different points of view. Different colors should be used for each of the following: local agricultural and business leaders, federal officials, and environmentalists.

Section 4. Analysis

Analyze the information you have collected and summarize the most compelling points made by each concerned group. Given these conflicting views, which position is best? Does this reinforce or change your view?

Section 5. Taking a Stand

Recommend a policy to address the issue you have studied.

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27. ANZALDÚA'S "BORDERLANDS": UNDERSTANDING THE WEST AS CROSSROADS

Introduction:

Analyzing Gloria Anzaldúa's poem "Borderlands" can be an effective way to end a unit on the West because it highlights the tensions and benefits of the cultural mingling of the western region. The poem also asks the reader to consider the metaphoric ways in which we all live at borderlands/frontiers/crossroads.

Objectives: At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

1. Analyze a poem and show their understanding by paraphrasing the poem.

2. Analyze the language and images of a poem to consider their implications for creating an image of the West.

3. Discuss the ways in which the West today is a crossroads.

Time Required: 1 class period

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of Handout 27-1 for all students.

Procedure:

1. Read the poem (Handout 27-1) aloud, stopping to explain (or, if possible, have bilingual students explain) the non-English words.

2. Next, have students paraphrase, or put into their own words, some or all of the poem. You may want to have them do this exercise in pairs and then have two pairs compare their interpretations of Anzaldúa's work.

3. Ask students to write a journal entry about the lines that seemed most powerful to them and why those lines were so meaningful.

4. Focus students' attention on the implications of the poem for our views of the West. Divide the class into groups of three or four and assign each group one stanza of the poem (more than one group can be assigned to each stanza). Ask them to answer the following questions:

- According to your stanza, when living in the Borderlands, why is it difficult to claim an identity?
- According to your stanza, how do others treat you if you live in the Borderlands?
- According to your stanza, is it possible to live in the Borderlands as a whole person, or is it only possible to live as a fragmented person, divided along the racial/cultural lines of your heritage?

Ideas for this lesson contributed by Denise Runyan, Carl Hayden Community High School, Phoenix, Arizona.

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- In your opinion, what are the implications of your answer to the previous question? What does "wholeness" or "fragmentation" mean to an individual? to a society?

5. Once the small groups have answered these questions, conduct a class discussion of the ideas generated in the small groups. Then use the following questions to draw the discussion to a close.

- Do you think this poem speaks the truth about life in the Borderlands today?
- Is the Borderlands a specific place? Do you have to be a "mestiza, mulata, half breed" to live in the Borderlands? Is the Borderlands a place where diverse peoples life? Based on your answers to these questions, do you feel that you live in the Borderlands? What does this mean to you?
- The poem seems to offer a fairly negative view of living in the Borderlands. Is there a positive way to look at the same subject? If so, what is it? If not, why not?

6. To conclude the lesson, have students write journal entries in response to the following question:

> The West is a place where many diverse cultures have converged and continue to converge. What are the positive implications of living in a place that is so diverse? What are some of the challenges faced by those living in the West? How do you believe those challenges can be met?

Extension/Enrichment:

Have students work in groups to write new verses for Anzuldúa's poem. Other students may prefer to represent ideas about borderlands, crossroads, and frontiers visually—in cartoons, posters, or murals.

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To live in the Borderlands means you

are neither *hispana india negra española*
ni gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half-breed
caught in the cross fire between camps
while carrying all five races on your back
not knowing which side to turn to, run from;

To live in the Borderlands means knowing
that the *india* in you, betrayed for 500 years,
is no longer speaking to you,
that *mexicanas* call you *rajetas*,
that denying the Anglo inside you
is as bad as having denied the Indian or Black;

Cuando vives en la frontera
people walk through you, the wind steals your voice,
you're a *burra*, *buey*, scapegoat,
forerunner of a new race,
half and half—both woman and man, neither—
a new gender;

To live in the Borderlands means to
put *chile* in the borscht
eat whole wheat *tortillas*,
speak Tex-Mex with a Brooklyn accent;
be stopped by *la migra* at the border checkpoints;

Living in the Borderlands means you fight hard to
resist the gold elixer beckoning from the bottle,
the pull of the gun barrel,
the rope crushing the hollow of your throat;

In the Borderlands
you are the battleground
where enemies are kin to each other;
you are at home, a stranger,
the border disputes have been settled
the volley of shots have shattered the truce
you are wounded, lost in action
dead, fighting back;

From *Borderlands/LaFrontera: The New Mestiza*. Copyright © 1987 by Gloria Anzaldúa. Reprinted with permission from Aunt Lute Books.

To live in the Borderlands means
the mill with the razor white teeth wants to shred off
your olive-red skin, crush out the kernel, your heart
pound you pinch you roll you out
smelling like white bread but dead;

To survive the Borderlands
you must live *sin fronteras*
be a crossroads.

---

gabacha—a Chicano term for a white woman
rajetas—literally, "split," that is, having betrayed your word
burra—donkey
buey—oxen
sin fronteras—without borders

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APPENDIX

TELLING THE REST OF THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN WEST: SELECTED RESOURCES

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Title	Author	Subject	Perspective
Battle of Beecher Island and the American Indian War, The	John H. Monnett	Battle of Beecher's Island	Native American, white
Black Elk Speaks (biography)	John G. Neihardt	Sense of self-empowerment and hope, Native American visions; medicine (Holy) man	Native American
Bless Me, Ultima	Rudolfo Anaya	Coming of age novel; competing grand narratives	Multiple—Native American, Hispanic (1940s)
Boom in the Claaveras Clarion, The	Bret Harte	Journalism ventures centered on a story in California	Marital difficulties through misunderstanding
Boy Life on the Prairie	Hal Borland	Settling the prairie	White ethnics
British Gentlemen in the Wild West (non-fiction)	Lawrence Woods	British "cowboys" of the cattle era in the 1880s	White male
Buffalo Dusk	Carl Sandburg from *Smoke & Steel*	Killing off the buffalo	Bison perspective, Native American (poem)
Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (historical)	Dee Brown	Indian wars; subjugation of the Native Americans.	Native American
Centennial (selections)	James Michener	Mountain Men in Colorado—"Stammerhorn" Massacre	White male
Ceremony (novel)	Leslie Marmon Silko	Pueblo Indians—impact of war, especially upon returning	Native American
Chee's Daughter (short story)	Juanito Palero and Sujowin Miller	Love of father for a child; Navajo traditional values vs modern materialistic values	Native American

China Men	Maxine Hong Kingston	Chinese railroad workers life in the U.S. (without women!)	Chinese-American (third person)
Cimmaron	Edna Ferber	Oklahoma land rush	White ethnics, women
Death of the Iron Horse	Paul Noble	Sioux Indian attack on railroad train on plains	Native American (juvenile book) great illustrations.
Distant Thumpet, A	Paul Hogen (he's written some non-fiction on New Mexico, too)	Life in a military fort in New Mexico—late 1860s	White male
Dragonwings	Lawrence Yep	Chinese immigration/acculturation in 1905 San Francisco	Asian male
Eminent Domain	Wally McCrea	Cowboy's opinion of eminent domain—goes well with "Smoke Over..."	Cowboy, rancher (poem)
Fool's Crow	James Welch (Native American)	Tribal conflict, daily lives of natives.	Native American perspective (Crow) on northern plains and white settlement
Galvanized Yankees	Dee Brown	Emplacement of Southern white confederates into American West, and impact on Native Americans, plus demography of the West	Dominant culture, Union and Confederate
Giants in the Earth	Ole Rolvaay		
Grapes of Wrath	John Steinbeck	"Okies" migrating to California during depression. East to West movement of families because of economic hardship (depression)	White ethnics, male

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Heart of Aztlan	Rudolfo Anaya	Adolescent Latinos growing up in Albuquerque	Hispanic, laborer
Homesman, The	Glendon Swarthout	Westward movement in reverse—taking back East four women who had gone out of their minds in the West of the early to mid-1800s	White person
I Will Fight No More Forever	Merrill D. Beal	Nez Perce fight for survival as eastern migration expanded	Native American (Nez Perce)
ISHI: The Last of His Tribe	A. Kroeber	Eradication of indigenous peoples by California gold seekers	White observers/anthropologists and Ishi's perspective
Laughing Boy	Oliver LaFarge	Troubled love	Navajo—I don't know how accurate it is
Letters of a Woman Homesteader	Eleanor Randle Stewart	Homesteading, compromise, independence/ dependence, Wyoming homesteaders 1860s	White woman, German man, life together on Wyoming homestead
Like Water for Chocolate	Laura Esquival	Breaking century-old traditions in 1900s (Mexican Revolution)	Mexican, female (first person)
Little House on the Prairie	Laura Ingalls Wilder	Life on the prairie in 1870s (novel autobiographical)	Excerpts provide insight in episodes of survival—preparation for winter, etc.
Log of a Cowboy	Andy Adams	Long trail drive	19th-century cowboy
Lupita Manana	Patricia Beatty	Immigrating to the U.S., divergent cultures	Hispanic, female (late 20th century)

Medicine Bag, The (short story)	Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve	Generational conflict and understanding	Native American
Moccasin Trail, The	Eloise McGraw	Alienation, culture conflict in Oregon	Native American/white "settle" male
My Antonia	Willa Cather	Settling the Nebraska prairie	White ethnics, women
Noon Wind	Katherine Ann Porter	Early Nebraska	Norwegian
Old Yeller	Fred Gipson	Young boy responsible for farm and family when father temporarily leaves	White ethnics, boy
1,000 Pieces of Gold	Ruthanne L. McCunn	Chinese woman sold to gold miners in California (gold rush)	Chinese, woman
Outcasts of Poker Flats, The	Bret Harte	Small town throwing out (good-hearted) undesireables	Gamblers, prostitutes in contrast with ordinary small towners
Ox Bow Incident, The	W. Clark	Frontier justice	White male
Prairie Songs	Pam Conrad	Historical fiction—includes child birth and medicine practices	White settler
Pretty Shield and Plenty Coup	Linderman	Crow medicine woman signs her story at 83—oral history	Native American (Crow), female
Rain of Gold	Victor Vallasenor	Traces the history of two Mexican families from revolution to immigration to U.S.	Hispanic (1910-1930)

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Ramona	Helen Hunt Jackson	Forbidden love in 19th century southern California	Hispanic, Native American, female
Runner in the Sun	D'Arcy McNickle	Native American, bi-culturalism	Young adolescent male, Native American (great for middle school)
Sea of Grass	Conrad Richter	High plains of New Mexico	
Six Gun Mystique, The (selections)	John Cawelti	Attitudes towards the Western	White scholar
Smoke Over the Prairie	Conrad Richter	Railroad pushing west, replacing mule teamsters on Santa Fe Trail	Teamster loses out to railroad and eminent domain (short story)
Soul of the Indian, The	Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa)	Life of an American Indian (ceremonies, culture, philosophy)	Native Americans
Surrounded, The	D'Arcy McNickle		Native American, male, Catholic church
Tracks (novel)	Louise Erdrich (Native American)	1900-1920 impact of Dawes Act, plus consequences of *owning* land (foreign ideas to Native Americans)	Native American
Under the Lion's Paw	Hamlin Garland	(Naturalistic) realistic writing style on desperation trying to survive out west	Poor farmers from the East
Virgin Land (selections)	Henry Nash Smith	Views of the land, heroes of dime novels	White scholar

Way to Rainy Mountain, The	N. Scott Momaday	Native American myths, lore, and family traditions; family history; Native American culture	Native American (Kiowa, male)
West Against the Wind	Lisa K. Murrow	Realities of westward movement in fiction form; family separation because of gold rush (historical fiction)	White settler
When the Legends Die	Hal Borland	Understanding one's "roots" and conflict between cultures.	Native American, White, Mexican
Wolf Song	Harvey Fergusson	Life and work of fur trappers in Rocky Mountains; mountain men; romance in the west	White fur trappers, Hispanic
Women and Men on the Overland Trail	John Faragher	Gender roles on Overland Trail	White scholar

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